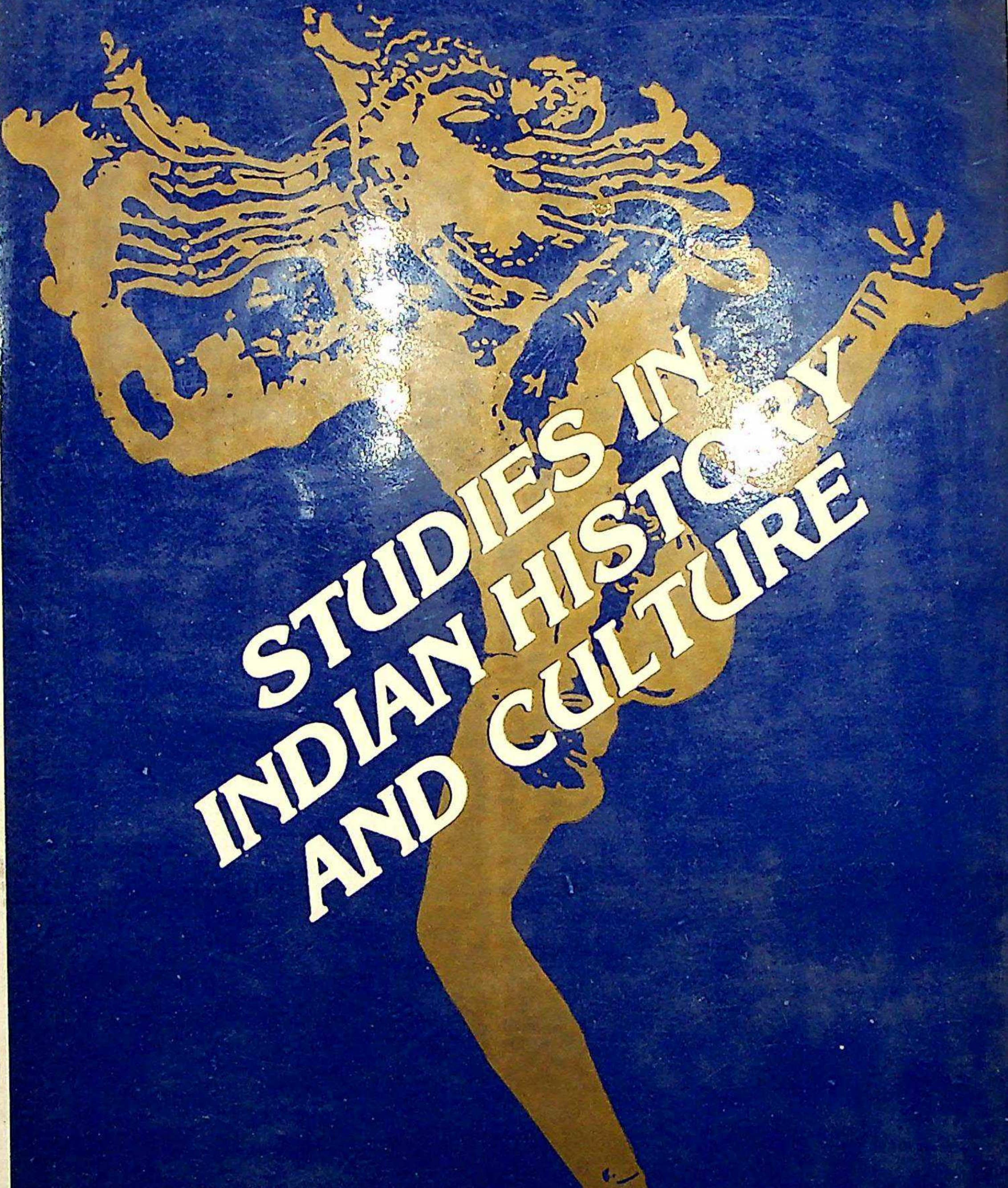

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

BY

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D.,
Hony. Lecturer, Post-graduate Department, Calcutta University
Editor, Indian Historical Quarterly

Author of
Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, Vol. I
Promotion of Learning in India by Muhammadans [during Muhammadan Rule], Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers, Inter-State Relations in Ancient India, Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, &c.

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TO

Mr. Nundo Lal De, M.A., B.L.,

AUTHOR OF THE *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, etc.,

WHO KINDLED IN ME A LOVE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF

DEEP RESPECT AND GRATITUDE

BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

The papers collected here were written at different times for different purposes. The immediate object of publishing them in a collected form is to make them easily accessible to readers. The papers are independent of one another, the only unifying link among them being this that they deal with various historical topics connected with the culture and civilization of India.

My hearty thanks are due to my friends and pupils Mr. N. C. Paul, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt and Mr. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, who have in various ways lent me their assistance in the course of my labours, and also to Mr. R. N. Seal for the care and trouble taken by him in seeing the book through the press.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Antiquity of the Four Stages of Life

(ĀŚRAMAS)

SCHOLARS are divided in their opinion as to the time of origin of the four stages into which the life of a Hindu came to be divided. According to Prof. Deussen, the theory of the four *āśramas* is in the course of formation in the older Upaniṣads. *Chānd. Up.*(VIII, 15) mentions only the Brāhmaṇa student and householder. The same work (II, 23, 1) names *tapas* of the anchorite as part of *dharma.* The words *muni* and *pravrājin* are found in the *Bṛ. Up.* (IV, 4, 22) in addition to the references to the practisers of *vedānuvacana* (study), *yajña* (sacrifice), and *tapas* (austerity). But at that time, they did not form part of a progressive series, and until a late period, the separation between the third and the fourth *āśramas, i.e.*, between the *vānaprastha* and the *pravrājin* was not strictly carried out. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the four stages of life came into vogue after Buddha or after the compilation of the *piṭakas*, because these works do not mention them. He says that

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[1] *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 367, 368.

even the names of the four stages are not found in the older Upaniṣads. The term *brahmacārin* has in many places been used to denote a pupil, and the word *yati* occurs in two or three places to mean a *sannyāsin*, but there is no mention of *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha*, and *bhikṣu*. The first use of the four stages is found, according to him, in the law-codes of Gautama and Āpastamba, but even there, they were not settled as to details.[1] Prof. Jacobi, however, states in his Introduction to the translation of the *Jaina-Sūtras* that the four stages are much older than both Jainism and Buddhism.[2] The object of this article is to attempt to substantiate the view of Prof. Jacobi by showing that the four stages of life were well developed at the time of the older Upaniṣads and the mutual relations between them had been fixed before that period.

A little thought will make it evident that the first two stages of life of a Hindu had their origin in the usual divisions of life into (1) preparation for bearing the burden of later life, (2) actual bearing of the burden as a householder; while the last two stages of life originated in the feeling of worry, and hankering after detachment from worldly troubles, that naturally came upon a man's mind in later life. Though the word *āśrama* may not be found in use in a very early period, yet it cannot be denied that there existed in the Aryan society from very early times the student (*brahmacārin*), the householder (*gṛhastha*), and the person who renounced the world (*muni* or *yati*), as evidenced in the earliest *Vedic* works. Before dwelling on the question whether any fixed relations were established among the several stages of life at that time, we would first deal with the descriptions with which we are furnished by the Vedic *saṃhitās*, the *brāhmaṇas*, and the *upaniṣads*.

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[1] *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. I, pp. 212, 213.

[2] *SBE.*, xxii p. xxix.

Brahmacarya means the state in which learning is acquired in a well-regulated way. The provision for *brahmacarya* existed at the time of the Vedic *saṃhitās*. It is found in the *Ṛg Veda* (I, 112, 2 ; I, 112, 4) that the students of those days used to study under a *guru*, obtained recognition of their merit as students from learned men assembled at a place (*ṚV.*, x, 71), and met with odium if they were unsuccessful in their careers (*ṚV.*, x, 71, 9).[1] The use of the term *brahmacārin* is also found in the same work (*ṚV.*, x, 109, 5). Bṛhaspati has been called *brahmacārin*, because he was living as a widower. The primary sense of the word *brahmacarya* is the study of the Veda, *brahma* meaning *veda*, and as the control of the senses was compulsory for a *brahmacārin*, the word *brahmacarya* came secondarily to mean 'control of the senses.' The application of the term to *Bṛhaspati* was on the strength of this secondary sense. It is therefore evident that at the time of the *Ṛg-Veda*, not only was there a regulated provision for the study of the Vedas, but also the student had to practise chastity. The *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (vi, 3, 10, 5) refers to *brahmacarya* as a compulsory duty to the Brāhmaṇas. It has also been stated that a Brāhmaṇa boy is born with three debts: the debt to the *ṛṣis* is paid off by *brahmacarya*, that to the gods by the performance of the sacrifices, and the one to the ancestors by the birth of a son. In the face of such passages in the Vedas, Prof. Deussen[1] remarks that up to the time of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, the study of the Veda was not universally enjoined upon the Brāhmaṇas.

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[1] Cf. Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, *p. 129* and *ERE., vol. 5, p. 190.*

The *brahmacārin* has been extolled in the *Atharva Veda* (xi, 15). It appears from here that the duties prescribed for the *brahmacārin* in the *Dharma-śāstras* were substantially the same as in the *Atharva Veda*. Hence, the evidences from the *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, and *Atharva Vedas* make it clear that the Brāhmaṇa boy had to perform regularly the duties of the first *āśrama* from the time of the *Saṃhitā* period. That the *gṛhastha* (householder) existed at that time with his duties as such needs no mention. The passage from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* cited already shows that a Brāhmaṇa youth had to enter upon the second *āśrama* by marriage to pay off the debt to the forefathers.

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[1] *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 369.

The next point for our enquiry would be whether the third and the fourth stages of life (*āśramas*) are also mentioned in the *Saṃhitā* with details, if any. The *Ṛg Veda* (x, 109, 4 ; 154, 2 ; vi, 5, 4) mentions in several places terms like *tapas*, *tapasvānu* ; but it is difficult to say whether this *tapasyā* had any connection with the *vānaprastha* (third stage of life). It is however clear that the *munis* mentioned in the same Veda formed a class distinct from the *gṛhasthas*. They used to read the *stotras* (vii, 56, 8), had Indra as their friend (vii, 17, 14), were dear to the gods and moved about in the air by virtue of their occult powers (x, 136). One of the *sūktas* (x, 136) describes the Keśins. It seems that the *munis* with long hair were given this appellation. It is stated by Dr. Roth in his *Nirukta* (p. 164) that the *keśins* of this *sūkta* bear a strong resemblance to the *munis* described in the literature of the following period. Some of these *munis* went naked (*vātaraśanāra*) and some wore yellow clothes, and all of them possessed occult powers. The *Atharva Veda* (vii, 74, 1) also mentions the occult powers of the *munis*. The *Ṛg Veda* (vii, 3, 9 ; 6, 18) refers also to the *yatis* ; but particulars about them do not appear in the text. The three *Saṃhitās*, viz., *Taittirīya* (ii, 4, 9, 2 ; vi, 2, 7, 5), *Kāṭhaka* (viii, 5, 12, 10 ; xxv, 6, 36, 7), and *Atharva* (ii, 5, 3) contain an *ākhyāyikā*, in which Indra is described as killing the *yatis* by throwing them into the mouth of an animal named *śālāvṛk*. The *Atharva Veda* (xv) mentions another class of *sādhus* called *Vrātya*. Though the text does not expressly state that the *munis* used to renounce the world, yet the fact that they resemble the *vānaprasthas* of the *dharmaśāstras*, and are mentioned as belonging to a class separate from the ordinary men, and are superior to the latter, justifies the inference that they did not belong to the second *āśrama*. It is found from the *Brāhmaṇas* (see below) that there is no radical difference between *munis* and *yatis* of the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, and those mentioned in the literature of the following periods. However, this enquiry leads us to the inference that though the *Veda Saṃhitās* contain references to the states of life similar to those involved in the four stages, they are mentioned separately without any express statement that they were inter-related, nor do they detail clearly the duties of the *munis* and the *yatis*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* contain all the four terms. It is found in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 3, 3) that the *brāhmacārin* had to perform duties like the collection of fuel, begging of alms, looking after the comforts of the preceptor, etc. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (xii, 9) mentions Nābhānediṣṭa as living in the house of his *guru* as a *brahmacārin*. The *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* (xiv, 4, 7) contains an *ākhyāyikā* which relates that Indra restored to life his favourite *ṛṣis* called Vaikhānasas who had been killed by the Asuras at a place called Muni-maraṇa. We have found in the *Ṛg Veda* (viii, 17, 14) that Indra was the friend of the *munis*. In the present passage from the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Indra is also the friend of the Vaikhānasas. The Vaikhānasas appear therefore to have taken the place of the *munis* of the *Saṃhitās* in this *ākhyāyikā*. The narrative as to Indra killing the *yatis* is also found in the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Ait. Br.*, xxxv, 2; *Pañc. Br.*, viii, 4; xiii, 4, 16). The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (xxxiii, 1), moreover, hints at the four *āśramas* together. Here Nārada while extolling the birth of sons depreciates the *āśramas*: "Of what good will *mala* (impurity of blood and semen), *ajina* (the hairy skin of a black antelope), *śmaśru* (beard), and *tapasyā* (austerity) be ? O, Brāhmaṇas ! pray for sons ; sons stand for a world beyond cavil." Sāyaṇa while commenting on the passage says, "*Mala*, *ajina*, *śmaśru*, and *tapasyā* indicate the four *āśramas*. The *āśrama* of the *gṛhastha* is indicated by *mala* because of its connection with the *mala* (impurity) of blood and semen ; *brahmacarya* is indicated by the skin of the black antetope which is used by the *brahmacārin* ; *vānaprastha* is indicated by the beard, the shaving of which is prohibited in this *āśrama* ; and *pārivrājya*, the fourth *āśrama*, is indicated by the term *tapasyā* which involves the control of the senses." The terms, indeed, do not yield any reasonable interpretation if they be taken in any other sense (see Haug's transl. of the *Ait. Br.*, p. 461). It is now clear that the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* mention all the four stages of life corresponding to the four *āśramas* ; but they do not furnish any clear evidence bearing on the details of life of the *yatis*. It is inferred by many from the narrative of the killing of the *yatis* that they were opposed to the Vedas and the Brāhmanic religion, and hence, references to the punishment to which they were subjected are found in several places in the Vedic literature. But if we look closely into the passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (xxxv, 2), we shall find that such an inference is not justified. It is found in the narrative that the gods excommunicated Indra for misdeeds committed by him. He was even forbidden to drink *soma*. One of the misdeeds was the killing of the *yatis*. Had the *yatis* been opposed to the Vedas, the same Vedas would not have contained a reference to the punishment of Indra for doing away with their lives. Hence, it can be inferred that the modes of living of the *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, *muni*, and *yati* were all in compliance with the Vedas from the time of the *Saṃhitās*.

We would now enquire as to when the four modes of living came to form a progressive series in the life of a Hindu. The *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* (vi, 3, 10, 5) shows that both *brahmacarya* and *gārhasthya* were practised by a particular individual, and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 3, 3. 7) lays down as a duty of the *gṛhastha* that a *snātaka* (*i. e.*, one who has formally concluded his life as a *brahmacārin* for entering upon the second stage of life) should no longer beg for alms as he used to do as a *brahmacārin*. This passage establishes the connection between the stages of a *brahmacārin* and a *gṛhastha*. Then again we meet with the narrative in which Manu is said to have partitioned his properties among his sons during his life-time. The partition took place during the absence of his youngest son Nābhānediṣṭa, who was staying as a *brahmacārin* in the house of his *guru*. According to the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (iii, 1, 9), Manu himself divided the properties, while according to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (xxxii, 9), the elder brothers of Nābhānediṣṭa appropriated the properties among themselves. When Nābhānediṣṭa returned from the house of his *guru*, he was asked by his father not to be sorry for his exclusion from a share in the properties, for he would be able to earn money by his own exertions. This narrative shows that Manu gave away his all to his sons and was living detached from the world in his old age. He could not wait for the return of his youngest son from the house of his *Guru*, because the time for living detached from the world demanded immediate action. It may be that Manu instead of returning to the forest was living under the care of his sons; but such a mode of living may be termed the third or fourth stage of life. The *Manu Saṃhitā* (iv, 257, 258; vi, 94, 95) and the *Vasiṣtha Dharma-sūtra* (x, 26) of a later period have applied the appellation of *āśramin* to men living in this way. We can therefore infer from the narrative that the stages of a *brahmacārin*, a *gṛhastha*, and one living detached from the world existed at that time. These three states of life are the foundation of the *āśramas*. As the result of our enquiry, it may now be laid down that the terms *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, *muni* (or *vaikhānas*) and *yati* are found separately in the Vedic *Saṃhitās* and Brāhmaṇas, and in a few places, as shown already, we meet with instances of entrance into the life of a *gṛhastha* after the conclusion of studentship ; and moreover, we meet with the example of living detached from the world in old age after the end of a period lived as *gṛhaṣtha*. In addition, we find a reference to all the four stages of life in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*. Hence, it would not, I think, be unreasonable to infer that as early as the period covered by the *Saṃhitās* and the earlier *Brāhmaṇas*, the stages of life emerged with their inter-relations established between them in a progressive order.

The point next engaging our attention is the development reached by the stages of life at the time of the Upaniṣads. The *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* are regarded as the earliest of the Upaniṣads ; hence we would confine ourselves to the evidence furnished by only these two works. It is found in the *Chāndogya* (II, 23, 1) that *Dharma* has been divided into three parts in the following way :—*yajña* (sacrifice), *adhyayana* (study of the scriptures), and *dāna* (gift) form the first part ; *tapasyā* (austerity) forms the second part ; and life-long residence in the house of the preceptor forms the third part. Of these three parts, the first is meant for the householder, the second though practisable by all is specially meant for the *vānaprasthin*, and the life-long residence in the house of the preceptor is meant for the *naiṣṭhika-brahmacārin.* Two classes of *brahmacārins* are found from the time of the Upaniṣads. The student, who after staying at the house of his preceptor for the prescribed period and fulfilling his duties returned home, was called *upakurvāṇa-brahmacārin* (*Chā. Up.*, VIII, 15,1), while the student, who lived life-long at the house of his *guru*, was called *naiṣṭhika-brahmacārin* (*Chā. Up.*, II, 23, 1). After the mention of the *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha*, and *naiṣṭhika-brahmacārin* in the above way, it has been laid down that they all reach *puṇyaloka*, while the man who is *brahma-saṃstha* gets *amṛtatva* (immortality). The man who is *brahma-saṃstha* belongs to the fourth stage of life. Hence, we have the mention of all the four *āśramas* together in one place. Again, in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* (IV,4,22), Yâjñavalkya, while discoursing on the knowledge of *ātman*, says, "The Brāhmaṇas try to know Him (*Ātman*) by the study of the Vedas, and by knowing Him by *yajña*, *dāna*, *tapasyā*, and freedom from worldly desires (*anāśaka*), attain the stage of a *muni*." In this passage, the study of the Vedas stands

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for *brahmacarya*, *yajña*, *dāna* and *tapasyā* stand for *gārhasthya*, and lastly, the terms *anāśaka* and *muni* stand for the renunciation of the world. Immediately after this passage we find it laid down that the Parivrājakas take *pravrajyā* with the object of getting Him. Hence, here also, all the four *āśramas* have been mentioned together. Though the states of life corresponding to the four *āśramas* are found separately mentioned in the *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, particulars about the third and the fourth divisions of life are found in a large measure in the Upaniṣads. In the latter works, two paths are mentioned as leading to the next world. Those who live in the village and perform sacrifices, make gifts, practise austerities, and engage in works of public utility like the digging of wells, etc. go to the higher regions along the path called *Pitṛ-yāna* and return to this world (*Chā. Up.*, VI, 2, 16) ; and those who live in the forests and practise *śraddhā*, *satya*, and *tapasyā* go to the *brahma-loka* along the path called *Deva-yāna* and never return to this world (*Chā. Up.*, V, 10, 1 ; *Bṛ. Up.*, VI, 2, 15). It is clear from the passages that the dwellers in the village stand for the *gṛhasthas* and the dwellers in the forests stand for the *sannyāsins*. We find elsewhere that the *sannyāsins* beg for alms (*Bṛ. Up.*, III, 5, 1) and wander about (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 4, 22). By putting together the distinctive marks of a *sannyāsin*, we find that they were these, viz., dwelling in the forest, begging alms, and wandering. It is inferable from the narrative relating to the partition of Manu's properties that he detached himself from the world at the end of his life as a *gṛhastha* but the Upaniṣads make the point clear by showing in the life of Yājñavalkya that he detached himself from the world at the end of the second stage of his life. Yājñavalkya called his wife and told her that he intended to take up *pravrajyā* (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 5,1). The renunciation of the world at the conclusion of the second stage of life was so very common a matter, that the husband did not say anything by way of broaching the subject before the wife. The latter also was not surprised in the least at hearing the intention of her husband. That a particular individual entered upon different *āśramas* at different periods of his life is also found in a few other instances in the Upaniṣads. The life of a Hindu was divided into three parts from very early times. In the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (v,3,3), it is laid down in regard to a certain *vidyā* that it should not be taught either to a boy or a *tṛtīya* (*na vatsye na ca tṛtīye*); here the word *tṛtīya* stands for an old man. Further, in the *Chā. Up.* (III, 16), man has been compared with a sacrifice and the following analogies have been drawn; the first twenty-four years of man's life have been mentioned as corresponding to the *prātaḥsavana* of the sacrifice, the next forty-four years to its *mādhyandina-savana* and the following forty-eight years to its *tṛtīya-savana.* It is not clear, on what principle, a man's life has been divided in this way; but it should be noticed that in the *dharma-śāstras* (*e. g.*, *Manu*, IX, 94), the second stage of life is put as generally commencing from the twenty-fifth year, while in the *Chā. Up.* (VI, 1, 1) *Ś*vetaketu is found to conclude his career as *brahmacārin* at the same age for entering upon the second *āśrama.* After the said passage, the comparison between the man and the sacrifice has been further drawn in the following way: the fact that he does not satisfy his desire for food and water, though he is hungry and thirsty, corresponds to the *dīkshā* of the sacrifice; drinking, eating, and indulgence in the sexual passion correspond to its *upasad*, *stotra* and *śastra*; austerity, gift, simplicity, non-injury to living beings (*ahiṃsā*) and truthfulness correspond to its *dakṣiṇā*; and death corresponds to the *avabhṛta* bathing of the sacrifice (*Chā. Up.*, III, 17). Here, the abstinence from food and drink implies *brahmacarya.* A sacrifice commences with the *dīkshā*; similarly, the life of a man begins with *brahmacarya.* Next, indulgence in the desire for food, drink, and the sexual passion forms part of the duties of a *gṛhastha* ; and as the *dharma* of a *gṛhastha* is practised in the middle portion of a man's life, as the *upasad*, *stotra* and *śastra* come in the middle portion of a sacrifice. Then, austerity, gift, non-injury to beings, and truthfulness are the marks of a *sannyāsin*. The *dharma-śâstras* mention gift (*Vasiṣṭha*, IX, 8) and non-injury to sentient beings (*Vasiṣṭha*, x, 3) as the *dharma* of a *sannyāsin*. It has also been shown above from the Upaniṣad that the *sannyāsins* practise *śraddhā*, *tapasyā*, and *satya* in the forests, and as *sannyāsa* is adopted by a man towards the last portion of his life, so *dakṣiṇā* is paid towards the end of the sacrifice. Then the very last ritual of the sacrifice, viz., the *avabhṛta* bathing has been compared to a man's death. So, it is apparent that the several rituals composing a sacrifice have been compared to the various stages of a man's life with the duties attaching to them.

In the above comparison between a man and a sacrifice, the human life has been divided into three parts The life of Yājñavalkya instances the entrance upon three stages of life in succession. Hence, it should be made clear whether at the time of the earlier Upaniṣads, there existed any difference between the third and the fourth *āśramas*. We find in the *Chā.*

Up. (II, 25, I) that the *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, and *tapasvin* got to *puṇyaloka* after death, while one who is *brahma-niṣṭha* attains immortality. The *Bṛ. Up.* (IV, 4, 22) mentions both *muni* and *pravrājin* in the same place, and informs us that the last-mentioned *sannyāsins* used to wander about. The passage in the *Bṛ. Up.* (iv, 3, 22) contains the two separate terms *śramaṇa* and *tāpasa*, and it is also found in the Upaniṣads that some living in the forest practised *tapasyā* with great devotion (*Chā. Up.*, v, 10), while others, non-attached to the world, wandered about and subsisted on alms (*Bṛ. Up.*, iii, 5, 1). Hence at the time of the earliest Upaniṣads, there existed two *āśramas* that were entered upon after the conclusion of the career of a man as a *gṛhastha*, and these were the third and the fourth stages of life. We have seen already that the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* mention both the terms *muni* and *yati*. Though the third and the fourth *āśramas* were different, they were founded upon the common basis of the renunciation of the world. One was the first stage of *sannyāsa*, while the other was its mature stage. These two divisions of life have been most probably combined and referred to only as one in the Upaniṣads cited above, giving rise to only three stages of life, viz., *brahmacarya*, *gārhasthya*, and *sannyāsa*, and it is perhaps

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for this reason that the terms like *muni* were applied to members of both the third and the fourth stages of life. The *vānaprasthin* used to practise *tapasyā* and cogitate on *brahma* in a particular place in a forest; but a *yati* had no fixed place of abode, and wandered about, giving himself up solely to *brahma* to the exclusion of all other works. We cannot infer from the case of Yājñavalkya, as mentioned in the Upaniṣads, that because he adopted *pravrajyā* or the fourth *āśrama* from his life as a *gṛhastha*, therefore all used to enter upon the fourth *āśrama* without going through the third. In fact, it all depended upon the intensity of one's feeling of non-attachment to the world, and of devotion to *brahma* and things of the spiritual world. It may not be possible for a man to enter upon the fourth stage immediately after the second stage on account of the hardships involved in the change, and the mental, moral, and physical training required to prepare him for the arduous fourth *āśrama*. Hence, the third stage has been put in to make the transition slower and more convenient. It cannot be inferred from the example of Yājñavalkya that there was no difference between the third and the fourth stages of life. It cannot also be stated that the difference between the third and the fourth stages of life of the earlier

Upaniṣads was less than that in later times. The *Jāvālopaniṣad* (4) clearly describes the progressive order of the four stages of life, *brahmacārī bhūtvā gṛhī bhavet, gṛhī bhūtvā vanī bhavet, vanī bhūtvā pravrajet* (a man is to become a householder after he has been a *brahmacārin*; he becomes a *vanī* forest-dweller after having been a householder; and he becomes a *pravrājin* after he has been a *vanī*). Immediately after this passage, the following is laid down: "*Yati-dharma* can be adopted from the stages of a *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, or a *vānaprasthin*." The law-codes of Vasiṣṭha (VII, 3), Āpastamba (II, 9, 21, 1) and Baudhāyana (II, 10, 17, 2-6) lay down that any *āśrama* can be taken up at will. Manu (VI, 68) also has allowed an individual to go over to the fourth *āśrama* if he chooses to do so, and Yājñavalkya (III, 56) is of opinion that the fourth *āśrama* can be entered upon from the house or the forest (i. e., from the second or the third stages of life). We do not however see any provision for the entrance upon one *āśrama* from another in the reverse order. It has rather been expressly prohibited in the law-code of Dakṣa (I, 12). Hence it was the general rule at the time next to that of the earliest Upaniṣads that the four stages of life should follow each other in due order, with this exception that the first stage could lead to any one of the remaining three stages, according to the desire of the *brahmacārin* (*cf.* Āpastamba's *Law-code*, II, 9, 21, 4). This rule is also noticed in the earliest Upaniṣads. Thus, one could remain a *brahmacārin* for life (*Chā. Up.*, II, 23, 1), or after *brahmacarya* could remain at the dwelling house for life, devoting oneself to the cogitation of *brahma* in old age (*Chā. Up.*, VIII, 15). A man could also become a *yati* without becoming a householder if his feeling prompted him to do so (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 4, 22) ; while again, Yājñavalkya complied with the requirements of the three *āśramas* in due order (IV, 5, 1). From this collocation of the available evidences, it is allowable to infer that at the time of the two earliest Upaniṣads, the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the four *āśramas* existed as a firmly established institution.

The Origin and Development of the Brahma-Vidyā

THE origination of *Brahma-vidyā* is attributed by Deussen, followed by other western scholars, to the kṣattriyas from whom, in their opinion, the brāhmaṇas learnt it in later times. Their reasons for holding such an opinion are perhaps two :—

I. The brāhmaṇas who had been the originators and supporters of the *karma-kāṇḍa* of the Vedic *saṃhitās* and *brāhmaṇas* could not, consistently and in view of their self-interest, be the originators of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the *Upaniṣads*, in other words, the *Brahma-vidyā.* So much occupied were they with rituals and ceremonies that the *Brahma-vidyā* could not possibly find a place in their thoughts.

II. There are narratives in the *Upaniṣads* themselves, the matrix of the *Brahma-vidyā* discribing a afew brāhmaṇas as learning the subject from particular kṣattriyas.

The opinion does not however appeal to me as sound for these reasons :—

(I) In spite of the apparent conflict between the *karma-kāṇḍa* and the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, we find the one leading to the other by reason of the connected purposes subserved by them in the scheme of the life of the Vedic Hindus. The rituals and sacrifices are meant mostly for Hindus in the second stage of life (the *gṛhasthas*), after which two other stages of life are presented culminating in *karma-sannyāsa*, when rituals are discarded, and the mental cogitation of *brahma* takes their place. The pre-*vānaprastha* stages with their rituals serve as a preparation for the last two stages of life, viz., the *vānaprastha* and the *yati* with their gradually increasing emphasis on the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*. That the *karma-kāṇḍa* and the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* are not meant to be antagonistic to each other, or mutually exclusive, is found from the fact that the idea of *Brahma* is found in the Vedic works on rituals from the *Ṛg Veda* downwards. The attempt to find a unity behind the multiplicity of the Vedic gods, to discover an all-comprehending first principle, makes its appearance as early as the hymn of the *Ṛg Veda*, and is there linked with the names of Prajāpati, Viśvakarman, and Puruṣa. It is first in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that we find the neuter *Brahman* exalted to the position of the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods.[1]

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[1] *ERE.*, vol. II, pp. 798, 799; *Ṛg Veda*, I, 164, 45; III, 9, 9; *Ś. Br.*, XIII, 6, 2, 7; XI, 2, 3, 1.

Again, one of the principal objects of the performance of the sacrifices was the obtaining of wealth, power, and other means of enjoyment in this and the next world. But side by side with these are found in the ritual-books, the *Brāhmaṇas*, other sacrifices in which the celebrants had to renounce the world, *e.g.*, the Sarva-medha.[1]

The references to the last stage of life (third and fourth stages combined) in the Vedic works on the *karma-kāṇḍa*,[2] without any disapproval of the same, show that the entrance into a stage of life in which the rituals were on the way to be gradually discarded, was not antagonistic to their object. Had it been so, the works on rituals would have disapproved of the third stage, or laid down injunctions for the prosecution of ritualistic course of life up to the end of its span, to the rigid exclusion of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*. But far from that being the case, we find kings like Janaka, one of the supposed originators and propagators of the *Brahma-vidyā*, performing a big sacrifice at the very time when he had the discussion with Yājñavalkya regarding *brahma*; and similarly, we find the king Aśvapati about to perform a sacrifice when the brāhmaṇas went to him for hearing from him more about *brahma* than Āruṇi knew. It is therefore not correct to suppose that *brahma-vidyā* had its origin outside the *karma-kāṇḍa*, and from the brains of the kṣattriyas alone, and that it had its birth in a spirit antagonistic to the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*. This wrong idea has most probably arisen from the fact that the early Jainas and Buddhists, many of whom were kṣattriyas, including Mahāvīra and Buddha, and whose religions were but offshoots of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* with changes or additions of their own, were hostile to the brāhmaṇas and their *karma-kāṇḍa*; and the spirit in which they preached their doctrines has been supposed to pervade the *Upaniṣads*, and has been read into the passages that treat of the *Brahma-vidyā*.

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[1] *Ś. Br.*, 13, 7, 1 ; *Sāṅ. Śr. S.*, 16, 15, 5-6 ; 16, 15, 23 ; 16, 16, 3-8.

[2] The subject has been treated in the "The Antiquity of the Four Stages of Life".

(2) The *Upaniṣads* contain narratives in which brāhmaṇas figure as learners from the kṣattriyas; but the conclusion they point to has to be read in the light of facts lost sight of by Deussen and others.

Among the kṣattriyas, Janaka, king of Videha had the highest reputation as a master of the *Brahma-vidyā*; but yet the self-same king considered Yājñavalkya as having a greater mastery over the subject, and listened to lectures on the subject from that erudite brāhmaṇa.[1]

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[1] *Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 2.

Previously, Janaka had also learnt portions of the subject from the various brāhmaṇa ācāryas, *viz.*, Jitvā, Udaṅka, Barku, Gardabhīvipīta, Satyakāma, and Vidagdha.[1] King Jānaśruti was at great pains in searching for the brāhmaṇa Raikva to learn the *Brahma-vidyā* from him. King Bṛhadratha of the Ikṣvāku race learnt the same *vidyā* from the brāhmaṇa ascetic Śākāyana.[2]

Besides these instances of kṣattriyas learning the *Brahma-vidyā* from the brāhmaṇas, we find in the *Upaniṣads* the names of many brāhmaṇas, who handed down the science from generation to generation, and these brāhmaṇas were far larger in number than the few kṣattriya kings versed in that science.

Now let us scan the narratives which are relied upon as supporting the view that the kṣattriyas were the originators and teachers of the *Brahma-vidyā*. We find in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* that Janaka said more on *Agnihotra* than Śvetaketu, Somasuṣma, and Yājñavalkya knew; but this concerned *Agnihotra* and not the *Brahma-vidyā*.[3]

Again, Pravahana Jaivali, a kṣattriya, gave evidence of greater knowledge than Śilaka and Dālbhya in the *Chāndogya*,[4] but this knowledge was of *Saura-vidyā* which belonged rather to the *karma-kāṇḍa*. Again, according to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*,[1] the aforesaid kṣattriya as king of Pañcāla silenced Śvetaketu by putting to him five questions, none of which Śvetaketu could answer; and when Śvetaketu's father Uddālaka Āruṇi came to the king to hear on the subject, the latter said that it was unknown to the brāhmaṇas. The subject is called *Pañchāgni-vidyā*. Considering its subject-matter, it cannot be said that it was *Brahma-vidyā* proper, for it treats of the paths, along which men depart after death, and so forth. Ignorance of these matters cannot be taken as ignorance of the *Brahma-vidyā* on the part of the brāhmaṇas. Moreover, it was not reasonable for Jaivali on silencing Śvetaketu to question him "How could any body who did not know these things say that he had been fully instructed?"[2] for if no brāhmaṇa had knowledge of the subject, Śvetaketu came within the rule and could not be said to have been without proper education merely because of his ignorance of a matter not known to the brāhmaṇas generally; nor can it be said that no brāhmaṇa before Pravahana Jaivali had complete education, because they were not taught the matter. If this passage be taken as mere bluff, or an insult to Śvetaketu, it cannot be taken in its literal sense, and Jaivali really expected from Śvetaketu the knowledge of a matter, which was known to every well-educated brāhmaṇa or kṣattriya. The later passage, therefore, addressed to Śvetaketu's father, viz, "this knowledge did not go to any brāhmaṇa before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the kṣatra class alone" cannot also be accepted in its literal import.

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[1] *Bṛ.*, IV, 1.
[2] *Maitrā. Up.*, 1 ff.
[3] *S. Br.*, II, 6, 2, 5; *Bṛ. Up.*, 4, 3, 1.
[4] *Chānd. Up.*, I, 8, ff.

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[1] *Bṛ. Up.*, VI, 2, 1 ff; *Chānd. Up.*, V, 3, 1 ff.

[2] *Chānd. Up.* (*SBE.*), V, 3, 4.

Five brāhmaṇa householders and theologians named Prācīnaśāla, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana and Buḍila came once to Uddālaka Āruṇi to learn *Vaiśvānara-vidyā* from him. Āruṇi, diffident as to the fulness of his knowledge of the subject, took them to the king Aśvapati Kaikeya, who was also studying the subject. From this it is evident that both Aruṇi and Aśvapati were studying the subject independently of each other, and the inference that it was at first the monopoly of the kṣattriyas does not find support from the narrative.[1]

A narrative in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] relates that once a brāhmaṇa youth named Bālāki came to king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī to speak to him regarding *Brahma*. What Bālāki said did not meet with the king's appreciation, and therefore Bālāki requested the king to teach him the subject afresh. The king replied that it was opposed to practice that a brāhmaṇa should ask a kṣattriya to teach him the *Brahma-vidyā.* This *ākhyāyikā* also does not support the conclusion that the kṣattriyas were the originators and first teachers of the *Brahma-vidyā* ; for it was the brāhmaṇa youth Bālāki who proposed at first to speak to the king on the subject. Had the *vidyā* been the exclusive possession of the kṣattriyas, it would not have been possible for him to know it or to propose to teach it to the king.[1] Again, the king's reply that it was opposed to practice that a brāhmaṇa should learn the *Brahma-vidyā* from a kṣattriya also points to an inference not compatible with the opinion regarding the kṣattriya's monopoly of that branch of learning.

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[1] *Chānd. Up.*, 5, 11; cf. *Ś. Br.*, X, 6, 11.

[2] *Bṛ. Up.*, II, 1.

Though the point may not be established from the above narratives that the kṣattriyas were the originators of the *Brahma-vidyā*, it is however clear that the aforesaid kṣattriya kings were learned and promoters of learning. Erudite brāhmaṇas used to visit their courts at times, and were rewarded for giving evidence of scholarship, or for defeating their opponents in debates; when the number of these visitors diminished, king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī expressed disappointment, as king Janaka was more fortunate in the matter. Sometimes, conferences of the erudite, or the spiritually elevated were called in connexion with the sacrifices held by them, as king Janaka did.[1] These meetings of learned men offered the kings opportunities of acquiring knowledge on diverse subjects from scholars of diverse lands. It was perhaps for this reason that among the kṣattriyas, only the kings have been mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* as having knowledge of the *Brahma-vidyā*. A king by learning certain points from a brāhmaṇa visitor could use that knowledge for testing, or defeating in argument, another brāhmaṇa who had not had the opportunity of knowing them. Hence we cannot draw the inference, from the instance of a king defeating a brāhmaṇa in debate, that all the brāhmaṇas were ignorant of the subject on which he was silenced. We find instances of a king silencing learned brāhmaṇas in discussions regarding rituals. This cannot, like the examples in respect of the *Brahma-vidyā*, lead to the conclusion that the kṣattriyas monopolized the ritual lore.

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[1] *Bṛ. UP.*, III, 1, 1.

It appears to me probable that the aforesaid narratives in the *Upaniṣads* are meant in many cases to point to certain requisites, without which the acquisition of the *Brahma-vidyā* could not be complete. The need of humility in one who thinks himself a master of all knowledge is brought out in the *ākhyāyikā* relating to Śvetaketu. He was *stabdha* (loth to speak), and *anūcānamānī* (puffed up with the idea that he was well-read) when he met his father after completing his education. His inability to answer the questions put to him by his father disconcerted him[1]. Similarly, the conceited paṇḍits at Janaka's court were humiliated by Yājñavalkya[2]. *Dṛpta* (arrogant) Bālāki came to teach Ajātaśatru, but was bound, on account of the insufficiency of his knowledge, to listen to the latter's discourse on *Brahma*[3]. Even when Janaka thought, at the approach of Yājñavalkya, that the latter had come to have information from him on abstruse points, he was also shown that his knowledge was not complete, and hence he submitted to acquire the necessary knowledge from the great brāhmaṇa theologian[4].

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[1] *Br. Up.*, II, 1, 1.

Though Nārada had read all the works comprised in a long list, he could not master the *Brahma-vidyā* proper. This shows that mere book-learning was not enough for the purpose, but the knowledge of the *self* was necessary[5].

It is supposed that the fact of the origin of the *Brahma-vidyā* from the kṣattriyas was so widely known that their inability to conceal it has compelled them to incorporate the narratives in the *Upaniṣads* in spite of their unwillingness to do so. But the question may be asked, why the lists of teachers of *Brahma-vidyā* appearing in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[1] do not contain the names of Janaka, Ajātaśatru, Aśvapati, Pravahaṇa Jaivali and so forth. A similar list in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* mentions only the names of brāhmaṇas as teachers of the *Brahma-vidyā* [2]. If it be supposed that the kṣattriya teachers of the *Brahma-vidyā* have been purposely eliminated by the brāhmaṇas, it remains inexplicable why they should incorporate the narratives which recorded the cases of humiliation of brāhmaṇas by kṣattriyas.

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[1] *Chānd. Up.*, VI, I.

[2] *Bṛ. Up.*, III, I.

[3] *Bṛ. Up.*, II, I.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV, I, I.

[5] *Chānd. Up.*, VII, I, 3.

Sir G.A. Grierson states in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 2, p. 540) that according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (III, XX, 26), even Kapila, the founder of the Sāṇkhya system was descended from a rājarṣi and was therefore a kṣattriya. If we examine the statement closely, it is found to be altogether erroneous. Though Kapila's mother Devahūti was the daughter of Manu of the kṣattriya caste, his father was the brāhmaṇa Kardama (*Bhāgavata*, III, xxii, 2-3). The *Manusaṃhitā* (x, 6) lays down that 'sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers), but blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers'. Pursuant to this rule, Kapila would follow the caste of his father Kardama, i.e., would be a brāhmaṇa. It is also well-known that the descendants of Arundhatī, who was the daughter of Kardama and Devahūti and was married to Vasiṣtha, were brāhmaṇas, e. g., Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa. Hence Kapila was a brāhmaṇa and not a kṣattriya. The figures in the *Purāṇas* that tend to mislead one on this point are, for instance, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu (sons of Vyāsa), Aśmaka (son of Damayantī by Vasiṣṭha, see *Bhāgavata*, ix, 9, 39). The deviations from the rule that the caste of the son follows that of the father take place for the reason that the sons in these instances are *kṣetraja*.

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[1] *Br. Up.*, II, 6 ; IV, 6. [2] *Muṇḍ.*, *Up.*, VII, I, 3.

It is put forward as an argument in favour of the kṣattriya origin of the *Brahma-vidyā* that it has been named *Rāja-vidyā*[1]. The expression is found in the passage *rāja-vidyā rāja-guhyaṃ pavitram idam uttamam.* The expression *rāja-vidyā* has been interpreted as a *vidyā* originated by the kṣattriyas. But the next expression *rāja-guhyam* shows the application of that sense of *rājan* to be out of place, and therefore, the passage cannot yield the meaning sought to be drawn from it by those who believe in the kṣattriya origin of the *Brahma-vidyā*.

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[1] *Bhagavad-Gītā*, XI, 2.

Ancient Hindu Coronation and Allied Ceremonials

THE Vedic work from which the rites of coronation derived their sanction is not the *Atharva-Veda* alone, as will be apparent from the statement of the *Nītimayūkha*,[1] which gives details of the ceremony, "according to the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharva-Veda*, as also those not dependent on its authority." The existence of the coronation ceremony can be traced much earlier than the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*. The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*[2] gives its details as an independent performance in three sections which are separate from those devoted to the *rājasūya.* Wilson and Goldstücker observe that "the rites of the *Abhiṣeka* which is not part of a *rājasūya* sacrifice, but a ceremony performed at a king's accession to the throne, are similar to, but not identical with, those of the *punarabhiṣeka*; they are founded on the proceedings which took place when Indra was consecrated by the gods as their supreme ruler, and which forms the subject of the 38th chapter of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.*"[1] If the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* be older than the *Aitareya*, as Prof. Macdonell suggests,[2] then the similarity between the *abhiṣeka* and the *punarabhiṣeka* cannot be taken as indicative of the derivation of the one from the other. *Abhiṣeka* appears therefore to have been an independent ceremony existing side by side with the *rājasūya.*

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[1] *Nītimayūkha* by Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa (Ms. in *ASB.*, No. II, A. 25), p. 3. The discourse on coronation in the *Bhārata-rahasya* (in Bengali) by Rāmadāsa Sena cites a short passage from the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* without any reference to its location in the *Brāhmaṇa*. I could not trace it either in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, or the Bombay edition of the work. I do not understand why, unless the passage has eluded my search, it should be omitted in the editions.

[2] *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, II, 7, 15-17. *Ṛg Veda*, X, 173, 174 refer to rituals for steadying the king in his office by the propitiation of certain deities. It is not clear whether they have connection with the coronation, if any, prevailing at that time.

The *abhiṣeka* as detailed in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* begins with seven *mantras* to be uttered by the priest for performing a *homa* before the ritual of sprinkling takes place. The first *mantra* speaks of the prince's rebirth as the son of the *ṛtviks* (sacrificial priests) with his vigour immensely increased by his symbolic entrance into the *homa* fire and exit therefrom, and wishes him capability to keep his subjects from sinful ways. The second wishes him an extended kingdom, a stout physique for its efficient administration, and a good supply of cattle for the performance of the sacrifices. The third wishes him to be the guide of men, and wants him to solemnly say that he would protect the good and punish the wicked. The fourth and fifth invoke blessing on him for prosperity while the sixth and seventh for the glorification of the castes by his power, the prosperity of his subjects, and the extension of Prajāpati's protection to him.

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[1] Goldstücker's *Dictionary*, p. 277, under "*Abhiṣeka.*"

[2] Prof. A. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 203.

In these *mantras*, two points are noteworthy ; (1) The belief of the prince's *rebirth as the son of the sacrificial priests*, which appears akin to the rebirth of the twice-born by the *upanayana* sacrament for their initiation into the study of the Vedas. The prince, as it were, becomes a totally different being with his faculties and physical vigour renewed and increased for the discharge of the new duties that the assumption of kingly office will devolve upon him. Such a belief perhaps made the performance of the coronation ceremony an imperative necessity to every prince ; for, otherwise, in the estimation of the people, the prince will stand bare of the 'kingly fitness' which he omits to formally bestow upon himself by the ceremonial, and for which no natural capabilities of the prince, however great, could perhaps be an adequate substitute. After the death of a king or after his retirement, some time must have elapsed before the coronation rituals could be performed by his successor; and hence, the question naturally suggests itself whether the latter could exercise the rights and duties of a full-fledged king immediately after the end of the previous regime without formally going through the ceremony. In the case of the initiation sacrament, the uninitiated boy had no right to the acquisition of sacred lore before he went through the necessary rite; but not so perhaps in the case of the coronation ceremony, as will appear from evidences later on. (2) The solemn assertion by the prince, which looks very much like the *coronation oath*, to protect the good and punish the wicked, that is to say, the paramount duties of the protection of life and property of his subjects and an impartial administration of justice.

After the performance of the *homa*, a tiger-skin is spread with the *mantra* "Thou art the sky, thou art the earth," and the prince is seated thereon. The priests bless him saying, "May you be unconquerable, may the various quarters protect you, may your subjects be loyal, and may the kingdom never slip away from your rule," and sprinkle him with water in which barley and *dūrvā* grass have been steeped, the ritual being accompained with blessings.

The prince is then asked to repair to and ascend a chariot standing before the *āhavanīya* fire of the sacrificial ground where the ceremony is taking place, appropriate benedictory formulas (some of which are repetitions of those used in the sprinkling ceremony) being uttered during the time. The object of his ascension of the car appears from the last formula addressed to the chariot to be a symbolic expression of the desire that the prince might achieve success in his rule. The king next prays the royal priest to help him by a faithful discharge of his duties that serve to keep the realm free from danger, and contribute to its well-being. He then asks the charioteer to sit on the car and hold the reins. The king then recites to the effect, "May I never hear within my dominion the sound of bows of my enemies coveting my kingdom, may that harsh sound change into a sweet one by making the hostile army friendly."

The brāhmaṇas as well as the king's friends and relations embrace him, after which his body is smeared with unguents. At this time, the king has to look towards the sun, and the royal priest addresses him thus : "May this king be lustrous like the noon-day sun ;

may my blessings be likewise powerful in their effects; may you (king),—glorious sun, attain prosperity by my blessings; may my words be in a special degree discriminatory of right and wrong; may my blessings be firm in their efficacy; may the rivers (in the kingdom) be full, clouds rain in time, and crops fructify; may the king be the lord of a rich country veritably flowing with milk and honey."

After oblations to the fire intended for the *keśins, i.e.*, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūryya, the king is asked to sit on a throne of *udumbara* wood, when the *purohita* says, "O king, subdue your enemies completely. Now that I have finished the consecration bearing the two names of *Vaśinī*[1] and *Ugra*[2], pay fees to the *purohita.* May you attain long life and be freed from Varuṇa's snares." Then the priest shaves the king's head with a *mantra*, which indicates that it is an imitation of what Prajāpati had done for Soma and Varuṇa. The hair is collected on a tuft of *kuśa* grass, serving thereby to preserve the king's strength.[3] The king is then anointed with a mixture of milk and

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[1] Called *Vaśinī* because the ceremony is believed to bring the subjects under the king's control.

[2] Called *Ugra* because it effects the subjugation of enemies.

[3] Similiar belief is noticed in connection with the *keśavapanīya* ritual of the *Rājasūya.*

ghī with the same object in view with a formula which asks the Aśvins to have the king's beauty devoted entirely to the queens.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* speak of a few coronations of princes, the former those of (1) Sugrīva,[1] (2) Vibhīṣaṇa,[2] (3) Rāma,[3] (4) Kuśa and Lava,[4] (5) Aṅgada and Candraketu,[5] (6) Śatrughna's sons Subāhu and Śatrughātin,[6] and the latter those of (1) Janamejaya,[7] (2) Vicitra-vīryya,[8] (3) Puru,[9] (4) Yudhiṣṭhira,[10] (5) Śarabha, son of Śiśupāla,[11] and (6) Parikshīt.[12] Full ritualistic details are given nowhere in the epics. The common features of the rituals, so far as we can gather them from their fragmentary descriptions in the first named epic, are collection of waters from seas and rivers in gold pitchers, sprinkling of same on the prince seated on a throne, crowning, and prince's gifts to brāhmaṇas, while their distinguishing features are (1) the performance of a *homa* (in Sugrīva's coronation), (2) presents offered by the subjects to the prince (*e.g.*, in Vibhīṣaṇa's coronation), (3) presents offered by the prince (as in Rāma's coronation), (4) difference as to persons who sprinkle water, and (5) difference as to those who put the crown on his head.

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa,* 26.

[2] *Ibid., Yuddha-kāṇḍa,* sarga 112.

[3] *Ibid., Yuddha-kāṇḍa,* sarga 128 and *Uttara-kāṇḍa,* sarga 63.

[4] *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa,* sarga 107.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid., Uttara-kāṇḍa,* sarga 107.

[7] *Mahābhārata, Ādi-Parva,* ch. 44.

[8] *Ibid., Ādi-Parva,* ch. 101.

[9] *Ibid., Ādi-Parva,* ch. 85.

[10] *Ibid., Śānti-Parva,* ch. 40.

[11] *Ibid., Sabhā-Parva,* ch. 45.

[12] *Ibid., Mahāprasthānika-Parva,* ch. l.

The Mahābhārata furnishes some details of the ceremony of only one prince, Yudhiṣṭhira, who sat on a throne made of gold surrounded by others seated likewise. To begin with, he touched white flowers, auspicious symbols (*svastikas*), unhusked barely-corns, earth, gold, silver, and jewels. Auspicious articles, such as earth, gold, gems, and other things necessary for the coronation were brought by the subjects, who came there headed by the priest. Jars made of gold, *udumbara* wood, silver and earth and full of water as well as flowers, fried rice, *kuśa* grass, cow's milk, *śamī*, *pippal*, and *palāśa* wood, honey, *ghī*, ladles of *udumbara* wood and conches decked with gold, were there for the ceremony. The royal priest, Dhaumya, made an altar sloping north and east and marked with the necessary signs. The prince with his consort Draupadī was then seated upon a firm and effulgent stool called *sarvatobhadra* covered with tiger-skin, and Dhaumya poured libations[1] of *ghī* upon fire with appropriate *mantras.* Kṛṣṇa poured water from a sanctified conch upon the prince's head, as also Dhṛitarāṣṭra and the subjects. The presents brought by the people were formally accepted by Yudhiṣṭhira, who in turn honoured them with presents in profusion and gave a thousand *niṣkas* to the *brāhmaṇas* who uttered benedictions for his welfare.

Most of the features of the coronation as found in the epics have been reproduced in the *Agni-Purāṇa*[2] which, as usual with the *Purāṇas*, adds to them new rituals making the whole ceremony much more elaborate. The main divisions of the ceremony may be marked out into (1) *Aindrī-Śānti* on a day previous to that of *abhiṣeka* ; (2) On the *abhiṣeka* day

(*a*) Performance of *Homa.*

(*b*) Symbolic bathing (*i.e.*, touching the prince's body with earth brought from various places—*mṛttikā-snāna*).

(*c*) Sprinkling of water on the prince by ministers.

(*d*) Sprinkling of liquids by *Ṛg* Vedic and *Sāma* Vedic *brāhmaṇas*, and the royal priest.

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[1] Cf. *Yukti-kalpa-taru*, (Calcutta Oriental Series) *Sāmānyāsanoddeśa*, p. 56 ślk. 402.

[2] *Agni-Purāṇa*, chs. 218-219.

(*e*) Sprinkling of water through a pitcher (perforated with a hundred holes) by the royal priest.

(*f*) Rites by the *Yajur* Vedic and *Atharva* Vedic *brāhmaṇas*.

(*g*) Seeing auspicious things.

(*h*) Crowning.

(*i*) Presentation of officials to the prince.

(*j*) Payment of fees to *brāhmaṇas* and coronation feast.

(*k*) Royal procession through the metropolis.

(*l*) Return of the procession to the royal palace and gifts to the people.

If the reigning king instals his successor on the throne just before his retirement, he may have the *abhiṣeka* performed under his auspices on a day prescribed as appropriate for the purpose. If, however, he dies without performing this ceremony for his successor, the *Agni-Purāṇa*[1] allows for the latter a provisional *abhiṣeka* which can be celebrated irrespective of the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the day on which it is held. The reason for such a provision is obvious: the formal vesting of regal powers in the prince in order to enable him to discharge kingly duties cannot be long postponed; for such postponement may lead to difficulties. The rituals of the ceremony are succinctly mentioned as symbolic bathing of the prince with sesamum and white mustard at which the royal priest and the astrologer officiate, the hailing of the prince with the cry of victory after which he sits on a *bhadrāsana*, proclaims safety for his subjects, and issues orders to his officers for releasing prisoners. The coronation whether performed under the supervision of the retiring king, or in the case of his death, after the provisional coronation, has to be held on an auspicious day which is fixed in accordance with the recommendations of the texts[1] on the subject.

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[1] The *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 218 devotes ślks. 5 and 6 to this provisional *abhiṣeka* and the real meaning of the passage can easily elude the reader unless light be focussed on it from other works such as the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, pt. II, ch 18.

Details of the aforesaid main divisions are :—
Re. (1). The *Agni-Purāṇa* does not furnish its rituals, given, however, in later works like the *Nīti-mayūkha*,[2] which may be summarised thus: After the formal declaration of the king's intention to perform the *Aindrī-*

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[1] See, for instance, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, pt. II, ch. 18, ślks. 5-14; Goldstücker's *Dictionary* refers to *Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā* and *Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi* on this point.

[2] *Nīti-mayūkha* (MS. in *ASB.*), pp. 4-10. Minor details and *mantras* have been omitted in the above summary.

Śānti, the officiating priests are formally entrusted with these duties :—A *vedī* (altar) is constructed and upon it a *mahāvedī* (great altar) on which three lines are drawn on sand, a cavity is made and refilled with sand, Earth bowed to, and fire ignited. A gold, silver or copper pitcher full of water is covered with a piece of cloth and an image of Indra made of gold is placed on two eight-leaved lotuses drawn on the cloth. This is followed by offerings to Indra, five oblations to fire and the seating of the *Brahman* priest, who with the *Hotṛ* next engages in the offering of the following oblations, *viz.*, eight to the four cardinal points, and seventeen to Agni and other deities followed by *samṛddhi*, *sannati*, *upastīryya*, *sviṣṭakṛt*, *prāyaścittātmaka*, *sanisthiti*, *samāna* and *saṃśrāva-bhāga* homas. Then follow offerings to the ten presiding deities of the ten quarters of heaven, and to demons of various descriptions. The *Pūrṇāhuti* comes next and then the throwing of the remnants of *homa*-fire into holy water. In the concluding rite of *śānti* for averting evil, the king with his consort, relatives and ministers, is sprinkled by the *hotṛ* with water from the *śānti* pitcher. Then both the king and the queen take bath in water mixed with herbs, wear white drssses and garlands, and smear their bodies with the paste of white sandal. Gifts are made to the priests, and the gold image of Indra after symbolic relinquishment is given to *Ācāryya*. The whole ceremony is then brought to a close by the feasting of *brāhmaṇas*.

The object of this ritual is no doubt the welfare of the king implying that of his relatives, officials and subjects, but the central idea in it is the coronation of Indra, the king of the gods. We have seen in connection with the *Rājasūya* that the *mantras* for the *Punarabhiṣeka* are uttered in unison with those of the *Aindra-mahābhiṣeka*, which goes upon the supposition that the king of the gods was installed on his throne in remote antiquity with the self-same *mantras* which appear in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in connection with the *Aindra-mahābhiṣeka*, and which, when uttered at the *Punarabhiṣeka*, bring on special well-being of the subject of the *Punarabhiṣeka*. In the coronation ceremony with which we are now dealing, much more prominence is given to the idea by devoting a special day with its special rituals to Indra, who is worshipped to make the coronation of the mortal king as much fraught with potentialities for good as his own coronation was in the remote past.

Re. (2). On an auspicious day fixed for *abhiṣeka*, the king has to formally declare his intention (*saṅkalpa*) to perform the *abhiṣeka*.

(*a*) After the ignition of fire [1] and the offering of seventeen oblations as previously mentioned in connection with *Aindrī-Śānti*, the *purohita* has to perform *homa* with five sets of *Atharva* Vedic *mantras, viz. śarma varma, svastyayana, āyuṣya, abhayā*, and *aparājitā*, which are intended to secure for the king welfare for himself personally and his kingdom. On the southern side of the *homa*-fire is kept a gold pitcher (*sampātavān kalasa*) in which are deposited the residues of offerings. Brāhmaṇas learned in the *Vedas* as well as the brāhmaṇa, kṣattriya, vaiśya and śūdra ministers are honoured with presents and seated at the place where the ceremony is to take place. The royal priest, who has to fast on that day, puts on garland and turban and enters into the bathing-house where he has to put nine gold pitchers with waters from various places of pilgrimage as well as an earthen pitcher with water, a gold pitcher with *ghī*, a silver pitcher with milk, a copper pitcher with curd, and an earthen pitcher with water in which *kuśa* grass has been soaked. A gold pitcher with a hundred perforations as also an earthen pitcher filled with water from well and the four seas are also to be there.

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[1] Certain characteristics of the flame of this fire such as brightness like melted gold, resemblance to *svastika* mark, &c. were regarded as portents for good or evil.

(*b*) The prince is then bathed symbolically with various descriptions of soil. This bathing consists in touching his head with soil from the top of a hill, ears with that from the top of an anthill, face with that from a temple of Viṣṇu, neck with that from a temple of Indra, chest with that from a royal palace, right arm with that dug up by an elephant by its tusks, left arm with that dug up by a bull by its horns, back with that from a lake, belly with that from a confluence of rivers, sides with that from the banks of a river, waist with that from the door of a brothel,[1] thighs with that from a sacrificial ground, knees with that from a cowshed, shanks with that from a horse-stable, and feet with that from the wheel of a chariot. This ceremony is concluded by the final ablution of his head with *pañcagavya* (a mixture of milk, curd, clarified butter, and cow's urine and dung).

(*c*) Four vessels made of gold, silver, copper and earth are filled respectively with clarified butter, milk, curd and water. The brāhmaṇa, kṣattriya, vaiśya and śūdra ministers take the gold, silver, copper and earthen vessels in succession and sprinkle their contents on the prince's head from the east, south, west and north respectively.

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[1] It was perhaps believed that people before entering it parted with their religious merits at the very entrance, and hence, the sanctity of the soil from the place.

(*d*) After the ministers, a *Ṛg* Vedic brāhmaṇa sprinkles honey and a *Sāma* Vedic brāhmaṇa water (in which *kuśa* grass has been immersed) upon the prince's head. The royal priest commits the sacrifical fire to the care of the *sadasyas* (assistants) and sprinkles from the aforesaid *sampātavān* pitcher with the *mantras*[1] that were uttered in connection with anointment forming part of the *abhiṣecanīya* of the *Rājasūya*.

(*e*) The prince is then taken to the base of the altar and seated upon a *bhadrāsana*. The royal priest sprinkles water on his head through a gold jar perforated with a hundred holes, uttering "*yā oṣadhiḥ*, &c.,"[2] as also perfumed liquids, and water in which flowers, seeds, gems and *kuśa* grass have been dipped, with the recitation of other formulas.

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[1] Śloka 22 of ch. 218 of the *Agni Purāṇa* speaks of these *mantras*. That they are borrowed from the *Rājasūya* ceremony is not clear from this śloka, but appears to be so from works like the *Nītimayūkha*. Had the first verse of the couplet commenced with the words *rājasūyābhiṣeke ca* instead of with *rājaśriyābhiṣeke ca*, the meaning would have been clearer.

[2] See *Ṛg Veda*, x, 97.

(*f*) The Yajur and Atharva-Vedic brāhmaṇas touch with *Rocanā*[1] (yellow pigment) the prince's head and throat with the *mantra* "*Gandhadvārāṃ* &c."[2] This rite is brought to a close by the assembled brāhmaṇas sprinkling on the prince's head water brought from various sacred places[3].

(*g*) Auspicious things such as jar filled with water, chowry, fan, mirror, clarified butter and jar filled with water and herbs are brought before the prince, music is played, (eulogistic songs are sung by the bards, and Vedic psalms chanted by the brāhmaṇas[4]).

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[1] Some explanatory details have been taken from the *Nītimayūkha.* The formulas referred to have been borrowed as follows :—

(*i*) "*Oṣadhayaḥ pratigṛbhṇīta puṣpavatīḥ*, &c." *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, XI, 48.

(*ii*) "*Āśuḥ śiśāno*, &c." *Ṛg Veda*, x, 103, 1.

[2] *Ṛg Veda*, Khila, v, 87, 9.

[3] According to the *Nītimayūkha* (MS. pp. 2 & 11) not only the brāhmaṇas but also the assembled kṣattriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras and persons of mixed castes sprinkle water above.

[4] *Nītimayūkha* (MS. pp. 2 & 11). The work puts after the above rite the sprinkling of propitiatory water (*Śānti-jala*) from the *Sampātavān* pitcher by the astrologer. This rite is accompained by tha utterance of a long mantra "*surās tvām abhiṣiñcantu*," &c., of about 180 ślokas addressed to the gods, heavenly bodies, clouds, continents, hills and mountains,

(*h*) The royal priest, in the meantime, makes offerings of milk and honey to the divinities and sits on a chair covered with a tiger's skin. So seated he binds the prince's head with a fillet and puts on it the crown with the formulas "*Dhruvādyaiḥ*, &c.," an English rendering of which is given below :—

> "Firm is the heaven, firm is the earth, firm are these mountains, firm is this entire world, so may this king of men be firm.
>
> "May the royal Varuṇa, the divine Bṛhaspati, may Indra and Agni ever give stability to thy kingdom.
>
> "With a constant oblation we handle the constant *Soma* ; therefore may Indra render thy subject-people payers of (their) taxes"[1].

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places of pilgrimage, sacred rivers, birds, horses, elephants, universal monarchs of yore, ascetics, *Vedas*, fourteen branches of learning, weapons, supernatural beings, in short, to quite a string of divine, natural, or supernatural forces with powers for good or evil, in order that they might all be propitiated to the prince about to be coronated. The location of the *mantra* in the ceremony is not manifest in the *Agni-Purāṇa* but has been indicated by works like the *Nītimayūkha*.

[1] *Ṛg Veda*, x, 173, 4-6 (translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson).

The throne-seat,[1] on which the prince is next seated, is covered with the skins of five animals, bull, cat, wolf, lion and tiger. A symbolic meaning, not given in the texts, was no doubt attached to the spreading of these skins one over another. The tiger skin, as has been seen in connection with a previous ritual, indicated kingly power.

(*i*) The *Agni-Purāṇa* next speaks of the *Pratīhāra* presenting officials to the king. It is added by the *Nītimayūkha* that distinguished townsmen, merchants and other subjects are also admitted to this honour.

(*j*, *k* & *l*) The king now presents the royal priest and the astrologer with cows, goats, sheep, horses, &c., and honours the other *brāhmaṇas* with similar gifts and a sumptuous feast.

After going round the sacrificial fire and saluting the Guru and one or two minor rituals, he sits on a sanctified horse but gets down next moment to sit on the state elephant similarly sanctified, and rides through the principal thoroughfares of the metropolis amid a gorgeous procession. After return to his palace, he accepts the presents made by his subjects, whom he receives with honour and entertains to a feast. Presents in return are also made by the king to his subjects.

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[1] The *Mānasāra*, as quoted in Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (p. 284, under *abhiṣeka*) names two officers *sthapati* and *sthāpaka* taking part in a function not detailed in the texts used above. The queen is also mentioned as sitting on a throne along with the king.

It will not be out of place to recount succinctly the principal features of the English coronation of the past in order to show the degree of parallelism between it and that of the Hindus. The early English coronation had many features found in those of other European countries in the past, and may, for this reason, be taken for our purposes as a type of the early European coronations generally.[1]

1. The prince attended by a large number of nobles and goverment officers made a stately progress to the Tower of London where he resided a day or two to dub as Knights of the Bath a number of candidates who had to perform vigil and other rites preparatory to this honour.

2. Amid a solemn and gorgeous procession in which the new Knights of the Bath, nobles, government officers, and clergymen occupied the particular positions allotted to them, the prince under various marks of honour displayed

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[1] For the following information on the European coronation, see *Chapters on Coronations*, author not mentioned ; *Glory of Regality* by Arthur Taylor, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition. under "Coronation".

by the citizens rode to Westminster Hall on the day previous to the day of coronation.

3. Next morning, the nobles and others, marshalled according to their respective ranks, accompanied the prince to the adjacent Westminster Abbey, some of the regalia [1] being carried by certain persons having title to this honour.

4. The first rite performed within the Hall was Recognition in which the Archbishop declared to the people assembled there the prince's rightful claim to the throne and asked them whether they were ready to give their assent thereto. In this rite were laid the traces of development of coronation from an earlier form of election.

5. Next came the first Oblation, the essence of which was the rite in which a "pall of cloth of gold, and an ingot of gold of a pound weight" received by the prince from the Lord High Chamberlain were made over to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who placed them on the altar.

6. In the Proper Service of the Day, prayers were said for blessings upon the prince.

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[1] The principal Regalia are :—St Edward's Chair, St. Edward's Crown, Crowns and Circlets, Orb with the Cross, Sceptre with the Cross, St. Edward's Staff, Ampulla (or Golden Eagle), Ivory Rod, Chalice, Paten, Swords, Rings, Spurs, Curtana (or pointless Sword of Mercy), and the Bible.

7. At the conclusion of the sermon forming part of the previous rite, the Coronation Oath was administered by the Archbishop. The prince swore to govern the kingdom according to the established laws and usages, administer justice tempered with mercy, and uphold the religion of the land and the rights and privileges of the members of the church.

8. The Dean of Westminster anointed with oil from the Ampulla the palms of the prince's hands, his chest, shoulders, arms, and the crown of his head.

9. The next rite consists in investing the prince with vestments, girdle, buskins, sandals, spurs, sword, &c. which were made over to him on this occasion. Two noteworthy features of this function are that the Archbishop (*a*) while passing the sword to the prince requested him to protect the church, people, widows, orphans, restore things gone to decay and maintain those that were restored ; and (*b*) while delivering to him the Orb with the Cross he uttered the formula "Receive this Orb, and remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of God, and that no one can happily reign upon earth, who hath not received his authority from heaven." At the time of Augustus, the Roman emperor, the Orb was regarded as the symbol of universal dominion. The Cross was affixed to it by Constantine the

Great, signifying that universal dominion was but possible by faith.[1]

10. The Archbishop assisted by other clergymen put the crown on the head of the prince seated on St. Edward's Chair, saying, "God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude that (thou) by (our ministry having) a right faith and manifold fruits of good works, thou mayest obtain the crown of an everlasting kingdom, by the gift of Him whose kingdom endureth for ever. Amen."

11. The Sovereign was invested with the Ring of faith, held the Sceptre of kingly power, the Rod of virtue and equity, and the Bible. He then received the Archbishop's Benediction in appropriate words.

12. The Sovereign was conducted to the throne by the Archbishop who was followed by the bishops and great officers of state. After he was seated on the throne, the Archbishop delivered an exhortation and took the Oath of Fealty. This Oath was also taken by the bishops and the premier Duke., Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Baron, each of them representing himself and the rest of his rank. During the performance of the Homage, medals of gold and silver struck for the occasion were thrown

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[1] *Chapters on Coronations*, pp. 27, 118.

among the people, and if there were any general pardon, it was read publicly by the Lord Chancellor.[1]

13. In the Holy Communion, the Sovereign advanced towards the altar after the commencement of the Communion Service and made an offering of bread and wine. Then a wedge of gold, called a mark, weighing eight ounces, was received by the Archbishop from the Sovereign and laid upon the altar. This constituted the second oblation.

14. A noticeable feature of the Coronation Feast held in the Westminster Hall was the proclamation of a challenge to the effect that if anyone dared deny the rightful claim of the present Sovereign to the throne, he was a liar and false traitor, and the Champion was there to fight a duel with him to prove the falsity of of his assertion. The Champion threw down his gauntlet, which after a short time was taken up by the Herald. Until the completion of the arrangement for the feast, the Sovereign reposed in the Court of Wards. Several tables were placed in the Hall, the royal table being set on a raised platform. Special duties in connection with this feast were allotted to special officers or noblemen : the royal table, for instance,

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[1] The rites in which the Queen Consort took part have been omitted.

was covered by the sergeant and gentleman of the ewery; the first course of hot meat was served up with the combined assistance of the sergeant of the silver scullery, and two gentlemen-at-arms or two Knights of the Bath, and other dishes were brought with a procession composed of several officers. A full delineation of this coronation being outside the scope of this section, details of this as well as other functions, which may have value for other purposes, have been omitted.

In the evening were held a general illumination, and a display of fire-works in Hyde Park, the principal theatres being opened free to the public.

The features common to the two systems of coronation of India and Europe may now be summed up. The commonness is due, in some instances, to the very nature of the ceremony, and in others, to other causes.

Both the systems are endued with a religious character, difference lying only in the degree. In the one, God, His Son, and the Holy Ghost were solicited by prayers and offerings to bless the Sovereign and secure the welfare of his kingdom, while in the other, the divinities together with various natural and supernatural forces credited with powers for good or evil, were for the same purpose entreated or propitiated through a multiplicity of prayers, offerings and other religious rites.

The coronation of the Hindus, in its later form, lost all traces of its connection with the elective principle pointed out elsewhere[1] to have been operative in the epic period, in which it could be traced in the *recognition* forming part of the installation ceremony. In the European form of coronation, it was traceable in the formulary of election expunged in later times, as also in particular functions incorporated in the coronations of various European countries pointing to some form of election as their origin, *e. g.*, the practice of elevating a sovereign on a shield among the later Romans, and the custom of having stone circles to serve as seats for electors and a large stone in the centre for the Sovereign.[2]

The practice of taking an Oath to protect the people and perform other regal duties existed in the Hindu coronation, as evidenced by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, but it disappeared later on. Therefore the similarity of the European and the Indian systems in this respect is not found all along their respective lines of development.

Smearing with unguents in the Indian type may be taken to correspond with anointing in the Western, sprinkling of liquids obtaining greater prominence in the former.

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[1] See the *Modern Review*, 1916 (Sept.), p. 307.

[2] See *Chapters on Coronations*, chs. i & IX, p. 99.

Crowning, blessings for universal dominion, presentation of nobles and officials, jail delivery, stately progress through the metropolis, feast and the devotion of a day or two to a ceremony preliminary to the coronation proper, may also be regarded as points of similarity between the two types.

YAUVARĀJYĀBHIṢEKA

It is in the epic period that we find the first mention of the ceremony for the inauguration of the crown-prince. Prof. Goldstücker is doubtful as to whether this ceremony is hinted at in the passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*[1] relating to the 'king-maker' (*rāja-karttāraḥ*) in the chapter on the *mahābhiṣeka*. These 'king-makers' refer, in the *Atharva-Veda*[2] and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[3], to 'those who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king.' According to Sāyaṇa's commentary on the aforesaid passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, the king's father is one of the king-makers, and this was a ground for Prof. Goldstücker's doubt whether the ceremony in which the father took part might be that for the installation of a crown-prince.[1] A closer examination would, however, make it clear that such a doubt is baseless for the following reasons :—

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[1] *Aitareya-Brākmaṇa*, VIII, 17, 5.

[2] *Atharva Veda*, III, 5, 7.

[3] *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 4 and XIII, 2, 2, 18. See Profs. Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, II, p. 210.

(1) The *mahābhiṣeka* is not an independent ceremony, and the chapter devoted to it is meant to bring out that in days of yore, the *abhiṣeka* of Indra (called *mahābhiṣeka*) took place on certain lines with certain *mantras* followed later on by several emperors of antiquity on the occasion of the celebration of the *Rājasūya*, and if these rituals and *mantras* be woven into the *Punarabhiṣeka* (*i.e.* the second *abhiṣeka*, the first having been performed at the time of installation to a simple kingship) of the celebrant of a *rājasūya* of later times, they would be of great efficacy.

(2) The inclusion of the king's father in the list of king-makers by Sāyaṇa is not borne out by the Vedic texts themselves.

(3) The presence of the father in any installation ceremony cannot of itself raise the presumption that the son performing the ceremony must needs be a crown-prince, for, first, the father might not at all have been a king, possessing therefore no kingdom to which

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[1] See Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, under "Abhiṣeka", p. 282.

he could choose his son as successor; and secondly, he might be retiring from his regal position, making his son a full-fledged king by the ceremony.

(4) The question of installation to crown-princeship cannot at all rise in view of the setting, in which the king-makers are mentioned, namely, the delineation of the rites and formulas of Indra's *mahābhiṣeka* intended to be woven into the *punarabhiṣeka* of the *rājasūya*.

Hence, there are at present no evidences by which the ceremony of the installation of the crown-prince can be traced to the Vedic period.

References are found in the epics to the *yauvarājyābhiṣeka* of Rāma,[1] Aṅgada,[2] Bharata,[3] Yudhiṣṭhira,[4] Bhīṣma,[5] Bhīma,[6] and Satyavāna.[7]

Details of the ceremony are not forthcoming from any of the works consulted by me. The Rāmāyaṇa furnishes a short account of the preparations made for Rāma's *yauvarājyābhiṣeka*, but as they are not perhaps exhaustive, we cannot draw from them any correct inference as to either the things needed for the ceremony or the rituals and functions in which they were used. The short account is, however, striking in that it does not include water or soil brought from various places, forming a prominent feature of the coronation ceremony and as such receiving the first attention in the preparations for Rāma's coronation.[1]

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, ch. 26, ślk. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, Yuddha-kāṇḍa, ch. 128, ślk. 93.
[4] *Mbh.*, Ādi-parva, ch. 139, ślk. 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, ch. 100, ślk. 43.
[6] *Ibid.*, Śānti-parva, ch. 41, ślk. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vana-parva, ch. 298, ślk. 11.

There was no restriction as to the age at which a successor to a sovereign was installed as the crown-prince. Rāma was twenty-five[2] years old at the time of his proposed installation to crown-princeship and Bharata about forty[3] when he was so installed; both Yudhiṣṭhira and Satyavāna were young[4] when they went through the ceremony, but Bhīma was far more advanced in years when he became a crown-prince. There was, therefore, no hard and fast age-limit for the ceremony, though it seems to have been the usual practice for the king to choose his successor as soon as the latter completed the prescribed period of studies and was ready to share as crown-prince the responsibilities of a ruler.

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddha-kāṇḍa, ch. 128, ślks. 48-57.

[2] *Ibid.*, Araṇya-kāṇḍa, ch. 47, ślk. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bāla-kāṇḍa, ch. 18.

[4] *Mbh.*, Ādi-kāṇḍa, ch. 141, ślk. 27; Vana-parva, ch. 293, ślk. 25.

No instances are forthcoming to show whether *yauvarājyābhiṣeka* was a bar to the subsequent celebration of the coronation ceremony when the crown-prince became the king. Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation after the recovery of his kingdom and subsequent to his *yauvarājyābhiṣeka* cannot be taken as a case in point in view of its merger in that of restoration to a lost kingdom.[1] That the recovery of a lost kingdom was an occasion for a fresh coronation stands clear from the case of Dyumatsena.[2] Prof. Goldstücker inclines to the view that the performance of the *yauvarājyābhiṣeka* 'held good for the inauguration of the prince at his accession to the throne, after the father's death, since no mention is made, in the epic poems, of a repetition of the ceremony. The object of the inauguration of a prince as *yuvarāja* is to secure to him the right of succession, and, besides the advantages supposed to arise from the religious ceremony, as mentioned before, a share in the government, or perhaps all the privileges of a reigning king. For when Daśaratha intends to make his son Rāma a *yuvarāja*, he addresses him with these words (in the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, [3]):

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[1] *Mbh.*, Śānti-parva, ch. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vana-parva, ch. 298, ślk. 25.

[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 40.

"Rāma, I am old; to-day, all my subjects want thee for their king; therefore, my son, I shall inaugurate thee as junior king."[1] In the above argument, stress is laid on the words spoken by Daśaratha to the effect that the subjects wanted Rāma as their king (*narādhipa*) but the force of the very next words uttered by him, *viz*, "therefore, my son, I shall inaugurate thee as junior king" is ignored. Whatever Daśaratha might have said on the occasion, the ceremony was nothing else than *yauvarājyābhiṣeka* and should be viewed as such.

References to the inauguration of the Commander-in-Chief are found in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the inaugurations of Bhīshma,[2] Droṇa,[3] Karṇa,[4] Śalya,[5] and Aśvatthāmā[6], as the military heads of the Kaurava army. This inauguration ceremony is modelled on that of Kārttikeya,[7] the Commander-in-Chief of the gods, whose inauguration again followed in some respects the still earlier *rājyābhiṣeka* of Varuṇa,[1] the water-god. Details of the ceremony aggregated from the several descriptions are scanty. Those, that are expressly mentioned, are oblation to the *Homa*-fire, seating of the Commander on an appropriate seat, sprinkling of water[2] on his head from a vessel, the utterance of the big formula "*surāstvām abhiṣiñcantu,*" etc.,[3] which happens to be the same as used in the coronation ceremony just before crowning, and gifts of coins, bullion, cows, cloths, etc., to *brāhmaṇas.* It is superfluous to mention that the rituals were accompanied with music, eulogies sung by bards, and joyous and benedictory ejaculations. The inauguration of the several commanders-in-chief mentioned above was performed in the battle-field. In times of peace, the same ceremony is likely to have been celebrated on the occasion of the assumption of his office by the commander-in-chief. It is probable that in the former case, the exigencies of the situation compelled a curtailment or abridgement of the rituals which could be allowed to be in their full form in times of peace.

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[1] Goldstücker's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under 'Abhiṣeka,' p. 282.

[2] *Mbh.*, Udyoga-parva, ch. 155, ślks. 26-32.

[3] *Ibid.*, Droṇa-parva, ch. 5, ślks. 39-43.

[4] *Ibid.*, Karṇa-parva, ch. 1, ślks. 11-12.

[5] *Ibid.*, Śalya-parva, ch. 1, ślks. 6-7.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. 65, ślks. 36-43.

[7] *Ibid.*, ch. 45.

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[1] *Mbh.,* Śalya-parva, ch. 45, ślk. 22.

[2] In the legend, the water of the Sarasvatī was sprinkled on Kārttikeya from a golden jar.

[3] In the legend of Kārttikeya's inauguration to generalship, the above formula was not recited at all; deities named in the formula personally appeared before him to take part in the sprinkling.

Vārttā—The Ancient Hindu Economics

Stray expressions of thought in ancient Europe on the material interests.

THOUGH the science of economics is essentially modern, stray expressions of thought on the material interests may be traced back in Europe to the time of Hesiod (8th century B. C.), whose *Works and Days*[1] is a long versified dissertation embodying directions for practical guidance in the material concerns of life, such as the making of ploughs, sowing, planting, reaping, threshing, supervision of slave-labourers, weaving of cloths, management of dogs, horses, oxen, etc., shearing of sheep, felling of wood, sea-trade. The European writers subsequent to Hesiod were occupied in a very large measure with thoughts about political constitutions. In spite of this feature, we meet with economic precepts and anticipations of later economic researches in some of the writings.

Plato (429 or 427—347 B.C.)

Plato has given us a few economic thoughts and analyses, some of which are correct even according to modern criticism. These may be gathered from the *Republic*, *Laws*, and the dialogue called

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[1] See T. Cooke's translation of the poem in three books, and J. K. Ingram's *History of Political Economy* (enlarged ed., 1915), p. 9.

Sophist. The *Eryxias*, a short dialogue, treats of wealth; but it is considered spurious and does not go deeper or farther than the aforesaid works. Plato recognizes the economic basis of political society, the importance of the division of labour and also of the primary occupations such as agriculture, cattle-rearing, and artisanship, domestic exchange of commodities, foreign commerce, and currency; and touches the subjects of distribution of property, money-lending, interst on loans and overdue accounts, and such other topics. Though many of his ideas are crude and unscientific, they furnish germs of much serious thought to later writers. His economic speculations, however, are found in mixture with his treatment of political and ethical questions which occupy the primary place, and are not disintegrated as a separate subject.[1]

Xenophon (*circa* 430—357 B.C.)

Xenophon's *Œconomics* treats of the management of the household consisting of the family with its dependants and requiring property for its maintenance. Incidentally, he touches the subjects of agriculture, manufactures, trade, foreign commerce, nature of money and some other kindred topics. His precepts for the management of private property show much sense and sagacity,[1] but his views on the subjects just mentioned are not in advance of his times except in one or two instances.[2]

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[1] *Dictionary of Political Economy* (edited by R. H. I. Palgrave) under 'Plato', and Ingram, *op cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

Aristotle (384—322 B.C.)

It was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth though he never treated it apart from ethical and political considerations. He used the word *chrematistike* sometimes as equivalent to *ktetike*, *i.e.*, acquisition in general, and sometimes in the narrower sense of that kind of acquisition that is rendered possible by exchange and money. The appended table of the divisions of acquisition[3] will show that he divided wealth into three classes, natural, intermediate, and unnatural. Hunting of wild animals or of slaves,—the

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[1] Xenophon's work on the revenues of Athens contains some practical suggestions for their improvement.

[2] Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 'Xenophon', and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 13. 14.

[3] The art of acquisition (*ktetike*; but *chrematistike* is sometimes used in this wide sense).

- I. Hunting (*a*) of wild beasts, (*b*) of those who are 'by nature slaves'.
- II. *Chrematistike*, the science or art of wealth.
  - (1) *Natural*, including
    - (*a*) keeping of cattle, flocks, etc.
    - (*b*) agriculture (including cultivation of fruit trees).

'living tools', is considered a 'natural' mode of acquisition as also the first divisions of *chrematistike,* on account of their having the same relation to the household as mother's milk to the young, or ordinary food to the graminivorous or carnivorous animals. The 'intermediate' acquisition is thought to be somewhat removed from nature and hence its name. This gulf reaches its farthest limit in the 'unnatural', with exchange for its instrument. Wealth is defined to be 'a number of instruments to be used in a household or in a state.' None of the modes of acquisition should be pursued immoderately, as domestic economy is not identi-

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(*c*) bee-keeping.
(*d*) keeping of fish.
(*e*) keeping of birds.
2 *Intermediate,*
(*a*) wood-cutting.
(*b*) mining.
3 *Unnatural* (=*metabletike,* exchange)
(*a*) trade (commerce and retail trade).
1st, ship-owning.
2nd, carrying trade.
3rd, shop-keeping.
(*b*) money-lending (usury).
(*c*) labour for hire.
1st, of the skilled artisan.
2nd, of the unskilled.
—Jowett's *Politics of Aristotle* (Oxf. 1885)
Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 'Aristotle'.

cal with amassing wealth, nor statesmanship with finance. The foundations of an 'art of acquistion' quite apart from the 'art of household management' were thus laid.[1] The term *oikonomike* continued to denote as before 'household management', *chrematistike* (or *ktetike*) being used to stand for the predecessor of modern economics. 'Political economy' as the name of the science of wealth was first used by a French author in the title of his work *Traité de l'Economic Politique* published in 1615.[2] Aristotle dwells on diverse topics of economics which I need not reproduce. Suffice it to say that with him originated the conception of a distinct 'science or art of wealth'.

Stray expressions of thought in the ancient East on the material interests.

The Chaldæans reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture making the soil yield a good many raw products. Their methods were first transmitted to the Greeks and afterwards to the Arabs, and practised long after the disappearance of the Chaldæan civilization. The people of Irak under the Abbaside Caliphs followed those methods while the work entitled

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[1] Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 'Aristotle', and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.

[2] Ingram, *op. cit.*, p. 45. 'Economic' meant but 'domestic management' according to Bacon.

Nabatæan Agriculture of Ibn Waḥshiyah (the Nabatæans being an Arab people on the east and south-east of Palestine) preserves, according to one body of opinion, a reflection of those methods. In the opinion of E. Renan "It is possible that the method which is taught in them goes actually back, as far as the processes are concerned, to the most ancient periods of Assyria ; just as the *Agrimensores latine*, so recent in regard to the editing of them, have preserved for us customs and ceremonies which can be explained only by the 'Brāhmaṇas' of India and which are consequently associated with the earliest ages of the Aryan race"[1]. Agricultural treatises on clay were deposited in one or other of the sacred libraries in which the priests of each city used to collect documents of all kinds [2].

China.

Dr. Chen Huan-Chang's 'Economic Principles of Confucius and his School' makes it clear that in the writings of Confucius (552—479 B. C.) and his disciples were imbedded remarks bearing on the administration of wealth, its relation to the various social sciences, the principles that should underlie the production, distribution and consumption of wealth, and public finance. It should not be thought that there was a separate systematic exposition of all the principles. They are, on the contrary, found scattered throughout their sacred writings and require to be scraped together to show that Confucianism is a great economic, in addition to being a great moral and religious, system containing many an early 'anticipation of the accepted economic teachings of today.'

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[1] *Memoir upon the age of the work entitled "Nabatæan Agriculture"* (in French), p. 38, as quoted in G. Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 770, f. n. 5.

[2] For the information in the paragraph, see G. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

India : *Vārttā* emerges as a branch of learning in the epic period.

In India, the subject treating of wealth emerged very early as a special branch of learning under the name *Vārttā*. It is implied in the use of the expression *tisraḥ vidyāḥ* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] which points to the inference that *Vārttā* crystallized as a branch of learning most probably in the epic period. A few *purāṇas*[2] record that the group of occupations signified by the word came first into existence in the *tretā* age, and we find its appearance as a branch of learning in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the great epic of that age.

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[1] *Rāmā.*, Ayodhyā-k., ch. 100, ślk. 68, mentions three divisions of learning of which one is *vārttā*.

[2] *Vāyu-P.*, ch. 8, ślk. 134 ; *Matsya-P.*, ch. 140, ślks. 1-3 ; *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*, ch. I, ślk. 107 ; ch. 8, ślk. 195 ; ch. 63, ślk. 4 (same as *Matsya-P.*, *loc. cit.*)

The relation of *Vārttā* to *Arthaśāstra* in the *Kauṭilīya.*

In the *Kauṭilīya*, *Vārttā* is mentioned as dealing with 'wealth and loss of wealth' (*arthānarthau*)[1] while the scope of the *arthaśāstra* is laid down thus : "*artha* (wealth or goods) is the object of man's desire : the inhabited land (or country) is *artha* ; that science which treats of the means of acquiring, preserving, and developing the said land or country is *Arthaśāstra* (science of man's material concerns)"[2]. *Arthaśāstra* deals with wealth, but as good government is the *sine qua non* of peaceful acquisition of wealth, it treats of polity also. *Arthaśāstra* thus concerns itself with the economic development of the country but has to do in a large measure with polity (*daṇḍanīti*) which helps to create and maintain the condition precedent of economic development[3]. The relation between *Vārttā* and *Arthaśāstra* appears therefore to be that the former is the general name of the branch of learning that treats of wealth alone while the latter deals with it in combination with polity and other subjects having more or less intimate connection with *vārttā* and *daṇḍanīti*[1].

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[1] *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, *vidyāsamuddeśaḥ*, p. 7—"*Dharmādharmau trayyāṃ. Arthānarthau vārttāyāṃ. Nayānayau daṇḍanītyāṃ.*" Cf. *Agni-P.*, ch. 238, ślk. 9 ; *Kāmandakīya*, ch. 2, ślk. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, Bk. xv, *tantrayuktayaḥ*, p. 424.

[3] Cf. *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, p. 9. "*Ānvikṣikī-trayī-vārttānāṃ yogakṣemasādhano daṇḍaḥ.*"

Arthaśāstra, a sub-type of *Itihāsa-Veda*; how far this is additional clue to the time of emergence of *Vārttā*.

Having noticed the relation of *Vārttā* to *Arthaśāstra*, we are led to enquire whether the subsumption of the latter under *Itihāsa-Veda* as done by Kauṭilya[2] can furnish any clue to the time of emergence of the subject and thereby that of *Vārttā*, for *Itihāsa* is mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*,[3] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,[4] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[5] and various other Vedic works[6] as a branch of learning. The implication of the term as given by the commentators is not expressly in favour of its inclusion of the six sub-types of learning as represented in the *Kauṭilīya*. Moreover, the Vedic texts themselves mention very often *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* side by side as a compound expression, which seems not to support their relation to each other as genus and species; for if the words bore the meaning given in the *Kauṭilīya*, the mention of *Itihāsa* would have obviated the necessity of citing *Purāṇa* separately. We are not therefore in a position to say that the denotation of the word *Itihāsa* in the aforesaid Vedic passages is the same as that of the *Kauṭilīya*. It may be supposed that the word *Itihāsa* may be found in use in post-Vedic Sanskrit[1] or Pāli[2] and Jaina[3] literature with the denotation it bears in

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[1] The contents of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* lead us to infer that the subjects of administration of justice, polity including art of war and inter-state relations, building of forts, town-planning, etc. formed part of the *Arthaśāstra* in view of their bearing on polity and economics, though, of course, those subjects that had a comparatively distant connection with them received proportional attention and space in the working up of the treatise.

[2] *Itihāsa-Veda* includes (1) Purāṇa, (2) Itivṛtta, (3) Ākhyāyikā, (4) Udāharaṇa, (5) Dharmaśāstra, and (6) Arthaśāstra.—(*Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, *vṛddhasaṃyogaḥ*, p. 10).

[3] *Atharva Veda*, xv, 4.

[4] *T. Br.*, iii, 12, 8, 2.

[5] *Ś. Br.*, xi, 5, 6, 4-8; xiii, 4, 3, 3 ff.; xiv, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11.

[6] E.g., *Taitt. Ār.*, ii, 9, 10; *Śāṅ. Śr. Sū.*, xvi,

2, 2 ff.; *Áśva. Śr. Sū.*, x, 7, 1 ff.; *Śāṅ. Gṛ. Sū.*, 1, 24, 8; *Āśva. Gṛ. Sū.*, iii, 3, 1-3; *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛ. Sū.*, ii, 19, 6. Cf. *Bṛ. Up.*, ii, 4, 10; iv, 1, 2; *Maitrā. Up.*, vi, 33.

[1] E.g., *Gautama*, viii, 6; *Viṣṇu*, xxx, 38; Lxxiii, 16; *Baudhāyana*, 22, 5, 9, 14; iv, 3, 4; *Manu*, iii, 232; *Vāyu-P.*, ch. I, ślk. 200; *Viṣṇu-P.*, pt. I, ch. 1, ślk. 4; *Agni.-P.*, ch. 271, ślk. 10; *Bhāg.-P.*, *Sk.* I, ch. 20;

[2] E.g., *Sutta-Nipāta* (*Selasutta*) (*S.B.E.*, vol. X), p. 189; *Questions of Milinda* (*S.B.E.*, vol. XXXV), pp. 6, 247.

[3] *Kalpa-Sūtra* (*S.B.E.*, vol. XXII), p. 221 mentions *Itihāsa* as the fifth *Veda*.

Kauṭilya's treatise, but so far as I see, the evidences in the light of their current interpretations do not favour the supposition.

Thus the aforesaid meaning of *Itihāsa* in the *Kauṭilīya* stands alone unless it be said that the meaning should be read into the word in the passages of works chronologically anterior or posterior to the *Kauṭilīya*. In that case also, the separate mention of *Purāṇa* will present difficulty in the way of accepting the signification *in toto*. The relation therefore of *Artha-śāstra* or *Itihāsa* as set forth in Kauṭilya's work does not furnish us with any additional clue as to the time of emergence of *vārttā*.

Side by side with the signification of *vārttā* as a division of learning (*vidyā*), we find its use as a collective name for the occupations of the Vaiśyas[1], *viz.*, roughly speaking, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. The allotment of distinct means of livelihood to each caste must have preceded the raising of the *vṛtti* or means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas to the status of a division of learning for greater specialization in the same, in order to make it more effective

The process of the emergence of *Vārttā*. Its use to denote certain occupations and trade.

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[1] *Vārttā*, according to the *Kauṭilīya*, is also the means of livelihood of the Śūdra (*Kauṭilīya, vidyā-samuddeśa*, p. 7).

for the fulfilment of the objects it sub-served. This use of *vārttā* as signifying certain occupations and trade is found in Sanskrit works from the *Rāmāyaṇa* downwards. A few instances are cited in the foot-note.[1]

The elements of *vārttā* in this sense are agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade according to certain texts[2]; while according to others, money-lending is added to them as the fourth item[3]. *Vārttā* formed the means of subsistence of the third caste, which *Manu*[1] details as agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending, which are further detailed in subsequent passages : "A Vaiśya must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the (proper) wages of servants, with various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and (the rules of) purchase and sales." It will be seen that these details of works are necessitated by the three or four principal duties of the Vaiśyas mentioned above. In the *Kauṭilīya*,[2] however, *vārttā* denotes only agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade, money-lending being omitted. In

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[1] *Rāmā.*, *Ayodhyā-K.*, ślk. 47 ; *Mbh.*, *Śānti-P.*, ch. 68, ślk. 35 ; *Sabhā-P.*, ch. 5, ślk. 79 ; *Bhagavadgītā*, xviii, 44 ; *Kauṭilīya*, *vidyāsamuddeśa*, p. 8 ; *Vāyu-P.*, ch. 8, ślks. 121, 130, 134 ; ch. 24, ślk. 103 ; *Viṣṇu-P.*, ch. 6, ślks. 20, 32 ; *Bhāg.*-P., *Sk.* 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15 ; *Sk.* 10, ch. 24, ślks. 20, 21 ; *Sk.* 11, ch. 29, ślk. 33 ; *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*, ch. 8, ślk. 130 (same as *Vāyu-P.*, ch. 8, ślk. 134) ; ch. 26, ślk. 14 (same as *Vāyu P.*, ch. 24, ślk. 103) ; *Liṅga-P.*, ch. 39, ślk. 43 ; ch. 21, ślk. 16 (same as *Vāyu-P.*, ch. 24, ślk. 103) ; *Bhaviṣya-P.*, *Brahma-Parva*, ch. 44, ślk. 10 ; *Nāradīya-P.*, *Atri-Saṃhitā*, ślks. 14, 15.

[2] *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, *vidyāsamuddeśa*, p. 8,—*kṛṣi-pāśupālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā* ; *dhānya-paśu-hiraṇya-kupya-viṣṭi-pradānādaupakārikī* (*i.e.*, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade constitute *vārttā* ; it is useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, forest-produce, labour &c.). Cf. *Kāmandakīya*, ch. 2, ślk. 14 and *Questions of Milinda* (*S. B. E.*, vol. xxxv), p. 247 (iv, 3, 26).

[3] Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on *Mbh.*, *Śānti-P.*, ch. 5, ślk. 79 (with commentary) ; *Bhāg.-P.*, *Sk.* 10, ch. 24,

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ślk. 21—*kṛṣi-vāṇijya-gorakṣā kusīdam tūrīyamucyate,*
Vārttā caturvidhā tatra vayaṃ govṛttayo'niśaṃ.

[1] *Manu*, I, 90; *Mbh.*, *Śānti P.*, ch. 63, ślk. I; *Bhāg.-P.*, *Sk.* 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15.

[2] *Manu* (*S. B. E.*), iv, 329-332. The various duties contemplate their performance by various sections of the Vaiśyas and not by every individual Vaiśya.

addition to this difference, there is another between Manu's law-code and the *Kauṭilīya*, *viz.* that the former makes the serving of three higher castes the only occupation of the Śūdras, while the latter adds to it *vārttā* and *kārukuśīlavakarma* (professions of artisans and bards).[1] The separate mention of *vārttā* and *kāru-karma* may suggest that the various arts and crafts did not fall within the limits of *vārttā* in its primary sense. This seems to be confirmed by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* which appears to make a distinction between "*vārttopāya*" and "*karmajā hasta-siddhi*",[2] the latter expression referring to arts and crafts involving manual labour and dexterity. But as a branch of learning, its scope was much widened. We shall return to this point shortly.

The raising of *vārttā* to the status of a branch of learning so important as to be classed with its three other principal branches, *viz.* *Ānvīkṣikī* *Trayī* and *Daṇḍanīti*, is as old as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though of course its attainment of the literary status must have been posterior to the allotment of agriculture, stock-rearing, trade, and money-lending to the third caste, the

[1] *Kauṭilīya*, Bk, I, *vidyāsamuddeśaḥ*, p. 8. Cf. *Kāmandakīya*, ch, 2, ślk. 21.

[2] *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, pt. I, ch. 6, ślk. 20, verse 2.—*Vārttopāyaṃ tataś cakrur hastasiddhiñca karmajām.*

Vārttā as a branch of learning is posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the Vaiśya caste.

Vaiśyas. Previous to the emergence of *vārttā* as a śāstra requiring systematic study, the occupations and trade must have developed haphazardly ; but subsequent to its conversion into a type of learning, agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending may be inferred to have received a careful attention and perhaps a conscious direction. The questions put by Rāma to Bharata in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] and by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*[2] regarding the people engaged in agriculture and other occupations and the application of *vārttā* point to the same inference.

A few texts in which *Vārttā* is mentioned as a branch of learning. The scope of *Vārttā*.

Some of the Sanskrit texts in which *vārttā* is impliedly or expressly mentioned as a branch of learning are given below[3]. The topics that came within its scope were naturally those means of subsistence that were embraced by *vārttā* in its primary sense, *viz.* agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending. Its scope was not, however, limited to these four subjects but became much wider. Such a widening of scope is not uncommon; for the secondary sense of a word is not often shackled by the primary. In the *Devī-Purāṇa*,[1] *vārttā* as a branch of learning appears to include *karmānta*, *i.e.* manufactures. Though trade is omitted in the *śloka*, the inclusion of trade within *vārttā* does not admit of any doubt in view of the many evidences already cited. The subsumption of manufactures under *vārttā* or, in short, any occupation or accomplishment that had an economic value follows from the fact that *vārttā* was not merely a sub-class but the highest class of learning dealing with wealth.

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[1] *Rāmā.*, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 100, ślks. 68, 47.

[2] *Mbh.*, Sabhā-parva, ch. 5, ślks. 76-79.

[3] *Rāmā.*, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 190, ślk. 68,

(*vārttā* implied); *Mbh.*, Vana-Parva, ch. 150, ślks. 30, 31; Śānti-Parva, ch. 18, ślk. 33, and ch. 59, ślk. 33; *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 40, ślk. 39 (*vārttā* implied) with commentary; *Manu*, vii, 43; *Yājñavalkya*, I, 311; *Kauṭilīya*, Bk, I, *vidyāsamuddeśaḥ*, pp. 6, 7; *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 225, ślks. 21, 22 (same as *Manu*, *loc. cit.*); ch. 237, ślk. 5; ch. 238, ślk. 9 (same as *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, p, 7, lines 1 & 2); *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, *ch.* 61 ślk. 197; *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 215, ślk. 53 (same as *Manu*, *loc. cit.*); ch. 145, ślk. 36; *Bhāg.-P.*, Sk. III, ch. 12, ślk. 44; *Viṣṇu-P.*, pt. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119; pt. II, ch. 4, ślk. 84; pt. V, ch. 10, ślks. 26-30; *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*, ch. I, ślk. 107; ch. 64, ślks. 25, 32; ch. 65, ślk. 36; *Brahma-P.*, ch. 20, ślk. 85; ch. 179, ślk. 40; ch. 187, ślks. 43-46; *Devī-P.*, ch. 37, ślks. 60, 61; *Śiva-P.*, (*Vāyavīya-Saṃhitā*), pt. I, ch. I, ślk. 22.

[1] *Devī-P.*, ch. 37, ślk. 61—

Paśvādi-pālanāddevi kṛṣi-karmānta-kāraṇāt,
Varttanād varaṇād vāpi varttā sa eva gīyate.

Arthaśāstra, according to the *Prasthānabheda*[1] of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, is an Upa-Veda and

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[1] The *Prasthānabheda* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in *Indische Studien*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 13. [A Bengali translation of the piece together with the Sanskrit text appeared in the *Sarvārtha-Pūrṇacandra* (7th *Saṃkhyā*, 1855, pp. 217—224) edited by Advaita Caran Āḍhya]. The eighteen divisions of learning are 4 *Vedas*+6 *Aṅgas* +4 *Upāṅgas*+4 *Upa-Vedas viz. Ayurveda*, *Gāndharva-Veda*, *Dhanur-Veda,* and *Arthaśāstra*). The texts that mention the divisions as fourteen leave out of account the four *Upa-Vedas.* For the mention of the divisions either as fourteen or eighteen, see *Śiva-P.* (*Vāyavīya-Saṃhitā*), pt. 1, ch. 1, ślks. 22, 23; *Brahma-P.*, ch. 179, ślk. 40; *Skanda-P.*, (*Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa*), ch. 9, ślk. 54; ch. 11, ślks. 15-20; ch. 32, ślk. 21; ch. 38, ślk. 68; ch. 46, ślk. 11; *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, ch. 2, ślk. 100; ch. 9, ślk. 49.

The highest categories of learning are generally mentioned as four, of which *vārttā* is one. In this case, the whole Vedic lore falls under *Trayī.* Āpastamba's law-code [II, 11, 29, 11 and 12 (*S. B. E.*)] says, "The knowledge which śūdras and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the *Atharva-Veda.*" The footnote following the commentator (see also Bühler's *Introduction*, XXXII) adds that "men ought not to study solely or at first such śāstras as women or śūdras also learn, but at first they must study the Veda. The knowledge which women and śūdras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the *Arthaśāstra.*" The last sentence makes a confusion between *Gāndharva-Veda*, which like *Arthaśāstra,* is also an *Upa-Veda*, but treats of dancing, music, &c., while *Arthaśāstra* treats of quite different includes *nītiśāstra* (political ethics, or morals),[1] *aśva-śāstra* (veterinary science), *śilpa-śāstra* (mechanical and fine arts), *sūpakāra-śāstra* (cookery), and *catuḥṣaṣṭikalā śāstra* (sixty-four[2] *kalās, i.e.* practical, mechanical or fine arts).[3] But as *vārttā* is the highest category of learning relating to the material interests, *arthaśāstra* in its economic aspects cannot but fall under the same. The whole field of human knowledge is, as we have already pointed out, divided among four categories of knowledge, *viz. ānvīkṣikī*, relating to philosophy and reasoning, *trayī* to the *Vedas i.e.* to theology, *daṇḍanīti* to polity, and *vārttā* to wealth both public and private.[4] Hence *vārttā* was the branch of learning of ancient India devoted to the systematic study

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matters. The expression "other branches" wrongly conveys the implication that dancing and music are also branches of *Arthaśāstra.*

It will be noticed that the position of *Arthaśāstra* as an *Upa-Veda* has been put here as proceeding from its relation to the *Atharva-Veda*, but according to the *Kauṭilīya*, its position as such comes from its relation to the fifth , *i.e.*, the *Itihāsa-Veda.*

[1] Cf. *Viṣṇu-P.*, pt. III, ch. 6, ślks. 28, 29.

[2] Jayámaṅgala, the annotator of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, computes *kalās* with their sub-divisions to be as many as 518, and refers to a set of them called *Pāñcālikī* (see Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 32, 40).

[3] Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, 22.

[4] Prof. H. H. Wilson writes the following note

of the material interests of the people with a view to their acquisition, preservation and development.

The learners and teachers of *Vārttā* or its branches.

The application of the principles of *Vārttā* within the state by competent men was the look-out of the sovereign.[1] In view of this exigency, the sovereign had to learn *vārttā* with perhaps special attention to its more useful subdivisions, *viz.* agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade from teachers having special knowledge thereof.[2] Kauṭilya includes *vārttā* in the course of study prescribed for the prince, the subject being taught by superintendents of government departments (*adhyakṣāḥ*) having not merely a theoretical but also a thorough practical knowledge of the same and who were in charge of various agricultural, industrial and commerical operations of the state.[3] The

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on "*vārttā*" in his translation of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* [Bk. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119 (=vol. I, p. 148, Hall's ed. 1864)]: "*vārttā*" is explained to mean the *śilpa-śāstra* (mechanics, sculpture, and architecture); *Āyurveda* (medicine); &c."

[1] *Rāmā.*, Ayodhyā-k., 100, ślk. 68; *Mbh.*, Sabhā-P., ch. 5 ślks. 76-79.

[2] *Mauu*, VII, 43—
Traividyebhasirayīṃ vidyāddaṇḍanītiṃ atha śāśvatīm,
Ānvīkṣikīṃ cātmavidyāṃ vārttārambhāṃśca lokataḥ.
—Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, I, 311; *Agni-P.*, ch. 238, ślk. 8.

[3] *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, *Vṛddhasaṃyogaḥ*, p. 10.

prince also learnt *arthaśāstra* from competent professors[1].

It seems that the two higher castes, eligible as they were to the study of all the branches of learning, could learn *vārttā* like the vaiśyas either in order to have a merely general knowledge of the subject or, according to particular needs, to have a special knowledge of some or all of its branches. The brāhmaṇas learnt the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of making their education all-round, and sometimes for the purpose of teaching it to their pupils; for the brāhmaṇas were teachers not merely of theology and philosophy but also of economics, polity including even the art of warfare and use of weapons, as also the practical or fine arts, and accomplishments. Only a few instances will suffice. Rāma and his cousin were taught the use of some weapons by Viśvāmitra, the Pāṇḍavas the military art along with the use of weapons by Droṇācārya. The various branches of learning together with the sixty-four *kalās* were learnt by Kṛṣṇa from his preceptor Sāndīpani. Thus the members of the first caste were often masters and teachers of the practical arts, though, of course, it should be admitted that the knowledge and practice of *vārttā* were the special obligation of the vaiśyas, just as the knowledge and practice of *daṇḍanīti* (polity) the special charge of the kṣattriyas. The members of the fourth caste were, as it appears from several Sanskrit texts, debarred from literay or scientific culture, but, according to Kauṭilya, they were eligible to the means of subsistence included in *vārttā* and had therefore at least the practical knowledge required for the purpose transmitted from one generation to another through apprenticeship of some form or other.

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[1] *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. I, *Vṛddhasaṃyogaḥ*, p. 10.

Manner of treatment and extant literature.

The manner of treatment of *vārttā* or its sub-topics in the treatises on the subjects, so far as we can judge it from the evidences at our disposal, was rather concrete, though, of course, general maxims and wise saws, the generalizations that were the results of long experience, were not wanting in them. The economic treatises of the ancients whether of Greece or India could not be like their namesakes of the present day. The aim of the works on *vārttā* was more or less practical, their primary object being the guidance of the traders, agriculturists, cattle-rearers, artisans, artists, and directors of industries, and the concrete mode of treatment of the subjects in those books was determined by this practical purpose. I have appended at the end of this book names of extant treatises on the various arts and crafts and such other subjects as are classed under *vārttā* in two *lists*, the first of which contains the names of *manuscripts*, and the second names of *printed works.* So far, I have not come across any work entitled *Vārttā-Śāstra* dealing with the entire subject in a general way. The absence of such a book in the lists cannot be a bar to the recognition of the other works mentioned therein as appertaining to *vārttā* in view of what we find in regard to the three other divisions of learning, *Ānvīkṣikī*, *Trayī* and *Daṇḍanīti* ; for I do not think there are any works entitled *Ānvīkṣikī*, or *Trayī* though there are admittedly hundreds of works on philosophy and theology. Similarly in framing the list of more than 100 works on *Daṇḍanīti* or its sub-topics, which I have collected and published elsewhere, I have not come across any book with the title *Daṇḍanīti*. It is not essential that books must always be named after the divisions of learning to which they belong, and it is not a fact that books named otherwise cannot appertain to those divisions of learning. Most of the works named in the lists are on one or other of the sub-topics of *vārttā* or on a group thereof, treating of architecture, sculpture, painting, examination of precious stones, agriculture, nourishment of plants, treatment and cultivation of trees, laying out of gardens, cow-keeping, handicrafts, construction of carriages and ships, etc. We do not expect to find in these works an attempt to elicit economic laws by an inductive and deductive study of man and his diverse activities in relation to the utilisation of nature. The analogy of the handling of polity in the available treatises on the subject points also to the same inference. We find in them details as to the duties of various government-servants from the viceroys to the lowest menial, how the state-departments should be administered, how war is to be waged and inter-state relations maintained, and so forth, and not any abstract discussions of the origin and development of state, nature and seat of sovereignty and such-like.

Conclusion.

Thus it appears that a branch of learning for the study of wealth developed in India, the time of its emergence being roughly indicated by the fact that it is first referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and was posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the *vaiśya* caste. In Greece, it was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth in the fourth century B.C., though stray thoughts on the material concerns of life had commenced to be expressed by earlier writers. The emergence of *vārttā* in India as a distinct branch of learning was very probably earlier than Aristotle's conception of a similar branch of learning in Greece. The Chaldæans had reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture and their methods had been transmitted to the Greeks and Arabs ; and it is likely that they left in their libraries clay treatises on agriculture which are all lost to us. The 'Nabatæan Agriculture' appears to be the only work that seems to contain a reflection of the methods of agriculture. We have, however, no evidence to show that the Chaldæans had developed a branch of learning devoted to the study of the material interests of the people. As to China, Dr. Chen Huan-Chang's work makes it clear that many economic concepts and principles were imbedded in the writings of Confucius and his disciples, but he does not make out that the great philosopher was the originator of a distinct subject of study, conducive to the preservation and improvement of the material concerns of life. In India, this branch of learning devoloped early on the soil and was intended to give a scientific direction to the economic activities of the people. This literary type, taking its rise in the triple occupation of the vaiśya caste, included at first within its scope three occupations alone, *viz.*, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. References to this branch of learning lie scattered not only in Sanskrit literature from the epics downwards but also in Buddhist and Jaina works which point to the wide currency acquired by the subject in early times. In the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, for instance, the Arhat Ṛṣabha 'during his reign *taught* for the benefit of the people the seventy-two sciences,......the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts, and *the three occupations of men*.'[1] The three occupations are evidently the well-known triplet 'agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade,' which we find expressly mentioned in the *Milinda-Pañha* as '*kasi, vaṇijjā, gorakkhā*"[2] ; and the teaching of these occupations implies that *vārttā* in its primary sense had risen to be a division of learning.

The scope of this science of wealth after its fullest expansion came to embrace all the branches of knowledge bearing on wealth and stood side by side with the three other divisions of human knowledge,—*Anvīkṣikī*, *Trayī*, and *Daṇḍanīti*. These four literary types divided among themselves the whole field of human knowledge, and may, from this standpoint, be considered as standing on the same level of importance ;

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[1] *Kalpa-Sūtra* (*SBE*., vol. xxii), p. 282. Prof. H. Jacobi commenting on the passage says :—"The arts, as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver, and barber, each of which five principal arts is subdivided into twenty branches, are inventions and must be taught ; while *the occupations, agriculture, trade, &c. have everywhere developed*, as it were, *of themselves*" (the italics are mine). The last remark in this passage does not seem to be justified ; for "the three occupations of men" mentioned by the *Kalpa-Sūtra* refer evidently to "agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade."

[2] *Milinda-Pañha* (Trenckner's ed.), p. 178.

but from the other view-point, from which Kauṭilya looks at them, *viz.*, the creation of conditions that make the pursuit of learning possible, *Daṇḍanīti* (polity) is given the first place on account of the peace and order it brings about in the state and thereby makes it possible for the people to pursue the other branches of learning.[1]

Epigraphic confirmation of the existence of *vārttā* as a branch of learning and its teaching by professors in a college comes from a South Indian Inscription[2] which records that in the Sthānagundūru *agrahāra* "were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery (or magic), in logic, in the art of distorting people by incantation, in poetry, in the use of weapons, in sacrificing,....... and in the art of cookery to prepare the meals.' While its groves put to shame the groves of Nandana, such was the glory of that great *agrahāra* that all the surrounding country prayed to be taught in the four Vedas, their six *vedāṅgas*, the three rival divisions of *mīmāṃsā*, the *tarka* and other connected sciences, the eighteen great *purāṇas*, the making of numerous verses of praise, *the art of architecture*, the *arts of music and dancing*, and in the knowledge of all *the four divisions of learning* which were possessed by the brāhmans of the Sthānagundūru *agrahāra*." The four divisions of learning mentioned in the passage imply *vārttā* as one of them, and some of the arts that have already been classed under *vārttā* have also been separately mentioned as being taught in the *agrahāra*. The inscription belongs probably to the 12th century A.D. and testifies to the fact that up to that time at least, *vārttā* as a branch of learning did not yet become in India the unfamiliar or obsolete subject of later years.

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[1] See *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. 1, *Vidyāsamuddeśaḥ*, p. 7.

[2] Śilāśāsana at Taldagundy, No. 103 (L. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 197).

Early Buddhism and the Laity

ANY one who tries to acquaint himself with the process of spread and development of Buddhism from its earliest beginnings naturally asks the question whether Buddhism in its earliest stages had a lay society of its own to support it ; if not, what was its position in regard to lay-society without which it is difficult if not impossible for a religion to flourish in the way Buddhism did. It has been aptly said by Carlyle that "the Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way. No beautifulest Poet is a Bird-of-Paradise, living on perfumes. The Heroic independent of bed and board is found in Drury Lane Theatre only. Many an Ideal monastic or other, shooting forth into practice as it can, grows to a strange enough Reality : and we have to ask with amazement, 'Is this your Ideal ? To avoid disappointments, let us bear this in mind'." It must not be supposd that Buddha committed a mistake of this sort by founding his Ideal upon no basis of what Carlyle calls the Real. The paucity of details as to the lay community in the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima Nikāyas* lends colour to such a notion, but it should be noticed that though Buddha did not try from the beginning to have a stereotyped Buddhist community of laymen, yet his monastic system was broad-based upon the Real. The reasons why he did not care to have at first such a community of Buddhist laymen are :—

(1) He looked upon all men, irrespective of their religion or society, as badly in need of initiation into the Truths discovered by him ; and whatever might have been their attitude towards him or his religion, they were never regarded as unworthy of his solicitude for their moral and spiritual welfare.

(2) There was in India at the time of Buddha a large number of Hindus who were not strong in their faith, or were not satisfied with the social status to which they were rooted by their birth. Buddha could have a sufficient number of these people to embrace his religion and support the Buddhist monks.

(3) It was not perhaps possible for Buddha with his wide catholicity and infinite fund of mercy for the suffering humanity to limit the benefits of his religion only to those who belonged to a particular lay community of his own creation. On the other hand, however, the nirvāṇa which formed the *summum bonum* of human existence could not, according to him, be attained except by the process of

sādhana forming a part of the Truth discovered by him. To make the benefits of his religion available to as many people as possible, he prescribed only the sincere taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha, and the observance of the five sīlas as the minimum requisite and a sufficient indication of a mental attitude, which the followers of the Truth promulgated by him should have. The restriction of belonging to a particular lay community originated by Buddha for making them eligible to his spiritual minstration would have been to thrust into narrow limits a Personality that was yearning to rend asunder all limitations to uplift humanity.

(4) According to Buddha, the initiation into the Buddhist order and the performance of the sādhana incident to it constituted the only door to nirvāṇa. The laymen could rise higher and higher spiritually by their moral ways of life but could not reach nirvāṇa which, according to him, could be attained by the sādhana incident to the Buddhist order. It may seem to us that Buddha was very hard upon the lay community who could not, in his view, attain nirvāṇa, whereas the laymen belonging to other communities e. g. the lay Hindus, could, according to their spiritual guides, attain salvation by their meritorious acts. But the reason for the holding of such an opinion

by Buddha is not far to seek. Nirvāṇa was attainable only by the Buddhist order over which he could impose the discipline through which alone a man could be fit for same, while in the case of the laymen, over whom he exercised no such control for the reasons already stated, they could reach only stages of spiritual improvement lower than nirvāṇa.

All these factors contributed to bring into being the following state of things viz. that it was chiefly to the monastic order that Buddha turned his attention, because it was in his view the only effective means of attaining the highest end of human existence. He was no doubt compassionate to the householders but as mere meritorious deeds could not enable them to attain nirvāṇa during their life-time as householders, his ultimate aim was to persuade as many of them as possible to renounce the world and join the monastic order, live the disciplined life of a monk performing dhyāna, dhāraṇā, samādhi etc., and thus uplift themselves to the stage in which they could have nirvāṇa. Hence Buddha tried by his speeches and discussions to attract people with their worldly turn of mind, many of whom were, of course, householders, to become members of his order ; and when they were unable to advance so far, they could perform the five or eight sīlas, and thereby rise to the higher rungs of moral and spiritual development attainable by a householder. He did not care therefore whether the candidates for admission into the monastic stage belonged to the Hindu, Jaina, or any other community. What he cared for most was the entrance into the monastic order which alone was the effective means of reaching the highest goal of life. There was, at the time of Buddha, a section of people opposed to Hindu orthodoxy, or smarting under the invidious differential treatment meted out to them under the Hindu social system. These people were very probably the first to be impressed most by the doctrines preached by Buddha and be enlisted as his followers; but yet there are evidences in the Nikāyas to show that the opposition that Buddha had to overcome in the pursuit of his goal was strong and bitter on account of the presence of orthodoxy characterising, I think, the major section of the Hindu community. Just before the advent of Buddha, the Hindu society reached a time when a reaction against the evils that had cropped up in it grew in volume and was seeking an outlet. The presence of so many sects on the fringe area of Hinduism, or expressly opposed to it, testifies to the existence of the state of things. Mahāvīra had raised his flag of revolt, round which mustered perhaps a larger number of adherents than round that of any other heretic sect of the time. Buddha came in the wake of these sects but with greater potentialities of growth and resistance than its predecessors. The opposition put forth against him from the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy was naturally in proportion to the larger encroachments that this new religion threatened to make upon the domain of Hinduism. There are references in the Nikāyas to the stigma attaching even to the paying of visits to Buddha, not to speak of conversion to his doctrines or showing him marks of respect. The learned brāhmaṇa Sonadaṇḍa was asked not to see Buddha on account of the loss of reputation he would incur thereby (*D. N.*, I, p. 113). Similarly, the erudite brāhmaṇas Kūṭadanta, Caṅkī, and Pokkharasāti were reminded of the risk they were running by going to meet him. Instances of this sort may be multiplied. They show how difficult it was for the preacher of the new religion to win over to his side persons belonging to the orthodox community. But even this difficulty was overcome by him at times so easily that one may be led to think from such instances of conversion as if orthdox Hinduism allowed these conversions to take place without any grudge. We see, for instance, Assalāyana (*M. N.*, II, pp. 147 ff.) coming to Buddha for defeating him in a debate, but is defeated in the end, and the very moment, takes refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha. When renouncing the religion of which he was an adherent, he did not delay the least to think of the social disadvantages that might follow in the train of his conversion. Such sudden conversions depended upon the deep impression made by Buddha upon the minds of the persons who came into contact with him and felt the magnetic influence of his personality. It would not, I think, be correct to infer from the examples of such conversions that these converts were ungrudgingly allowed by the Hindu community to be at liberty to embrace Buddhism in pursuance of their unfettered conviction.

During the life-time of Buddha, the mark that distinguished the Buddhist laity was the "taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and the observance of the five sīlas." This was, of course, the minimum requisite of a Buddhist layman. Those converts who wished to be more advanced in discipline and to prepare themselves for greater religious merit observed the eight sīlas, and tried to mould their lives as far as possible in accordance with the ideal set forth in several places of the Nikāyas. To these we shall have occasion to turn later on. A Buddhist layman who thus went higher up the ladder of religious discipline prescribed in the Nikāyas for the laity had naturally to come into frequent contact with the Buddhist bhikkhus, hear their discourses, and discard gradually all those beliefs and practices which did not find favour with the Buddhists. Of course, for him who had crossed the door-sill of Buddhism very recently, no other restriction than that of the three refuges and the performance of the five sīlas was imposed. This gave him a good deal of freedom in regard to the holding of beliefs and the performance of rites and practices which might have been very dear to him before his conversion. It would be apparent that the Buddhist laity formed at first in this way must have consisted of people from whom uniformity of beliefs, rites, and ceremonies could not be expected. If Buddha or his followers would have tried to have the minds of the new converts shorn of their cherished beliefs, or their faiths in rites and ceremonies which were meaningless in the eye of the Buddhists, their attempt would certainly have been futile; for it is only the strong-minded people that can free themselves from their former faiths all at once.

An examination of the Nikāyas shows that though the laymen were declared incompetent by reason of their mental and spiritual outfit to reach the highest stage of spiritual development viz., arhathood, yet it was open to them to attain to the three lower stages viz. sotāpanna, sakadāgāmi, and anāgāmi. The method by which these laymen were made competent for these stages would be apparent from the passages in the Nikāyas, where the removal of the *saṃyojanas* has been treated (cf. *M. N.*, I, pp. 462-8; *D. N.*, I, p. 92). The five *saṃyojanas* that the house-holders had to sever viz., *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (the view of the existence of an individuality), *vicikicchā* (religious doubt), *sīlabbataparāmasa* (domination of belief in ritualisam), *Kāma* (bodily passions), and *paṭigha* (hatred) ; of these *vicikicchā* and *sīlabbataparāmasa* are of special importance, because by the first, a very strong adherence to the Buddhist faith is intended to be developed, while by the second, the influences of the former faiths and superstitions of the converts are meant to be counteracted. The development of the influence of these two factors on the minds of the new adherents of the Buddhist faith brings them more and more within the Buddhist fold and make them out-and-out Buddhist. Implicit faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha gradually asserts itself to the exclusion of the other faiths that may be struggling with it for the upper hand, and beliefs in the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies are by degrees denuded of their strength by the stimulation of constant endeavour on the part of the converts themselves to achieve this object, as also by the hearing of frequent discourses of the Buddhist monks at the monasteries or outside, and the carrying out of their directions as to the mental and moral discipline. There are rules in the Vinaya providing ample facilities for the converts to come into frequent contacts with the Buddhist monks. They met at the monasteries on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of every lunar fortnight at gatherings in which the monks delivered religious discourses and dispelled doubts on the points about which questions were put to them. Every morning they came into contact with the monks begging alms from door to door. Though long religious discourses were not suitable to such occasions, they could have been easily utilized for imparting to them bits of teachings intended to wear off their attachment to worldly matters, and stimulate their eagerness to subject themselves rigidly to moral and spiritual discipline, the path to salvation. The afternoons were allowed by the rules of the monasteries to be utilized by the householders by coming there and having spiritual enlightenment from the monks through conversation and religious discourses. The householders were also permitted to invite to meals the monks singly or by batches. These were, invariably, occasions for delivering suitable religious discourses. The *vassa* (the four months of retreat from the full moon of *Āṣāḍha* to that of *Kārttika*) is a prolonged period during which the monks had to stay at a fixed place, generally a monastery. These four months afforded ample opportunities to the monks to mould the spiritual and religious life of the laymen as much according to the Buddhist ideal as practicable.

It was through these instructions and discourses that the Buddhist householders could make much moral and spiritual progress as evidenced in the many narratives in the Nikāyas e.g. those relating to Anāthapiṇḍika, Visākhā, Nakulamātā, and Nakulapitā. Some of the lay-devotees are mentioned with appreciation in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* as adepts in *dhyāna*; this shows that the householders were allowed much scope for self-improvement and spiritual culture, though the passage already cited may give rise to the notion that they could not rise much in the scale of spiritual culture until they joined the monastic order. That they could rise as far as the stage of *anāgāmi* goes to show that the householders were given a good deal of latitude for improving themselves spiritually, not merely by the observance of the sīlas but also by the practice of *dhyāna*, a process of *sādhana* which may be misconceived to have been the monopoly of the monks and nuns. With the lapse of time, there came into being a society of Buddhist laymen who could be distinguished from the laymen of other denominations not only by their distinctive faiths but also by their social and religious practices that became gradually stereotyped as Buddhistic. Marriage into such Buddhist families or perhaps commensality or mixing in other ways with the Buddhist laymen came to put the Buddhist impress upon the doers of these acts. The ancient Hindu community allowed wide range of religious views to its members, but it was very touchy in regard to two or three points viz. (1) the acknowledgment of the supreme authority of the Vedas, (2) the observance of the caste-rules bearing specially on marriage and commensality, and (3) the observance of at least one or two sacraments. In consequence, those who deviated from the groove laid down by the Hindu community had to remain separate from the community and could not hope to be restored to their former status (which even was impossible in some cases) except by the fulfilment of certain expiatory and stringent conditions. To the Buddhist community this was an advantage, because the way to join them was made very easy and attractive, but the way to return to the community to which they had belonged previously, specially to the Hindu community, was not so easy and sometimes very difficult. Hence, though the distinctive external marks of the Buddhist laymen appear at first sight to be almost nil, a closer examination shows that there were such marks, some of which owed their origin not to the Buddhists themselves but to the peculiar social and religious environment surrounding Buddhism and the Buddhist lay society. At the time of Buddha, of which we are speaking at present, as the Buddhist lay society was receiving immigrants from quite a number of other sects and communities, it is difficult to find out at first sight its distinctive features concealed under its cosmopolitan character, but what I have said before will, I hope, show that though the state of things was nebulous at the time, the Buddhist society of laymen was not without peculiar features of its own. It was upon this society of laymen that the Buddhist monks could rely more than on any other for help, patronage, and daily alms. It is natural that the Buddhist laymen should be more interested in the furtherance of the Buddhist ideals and more devoted to the Buddhist monks than the laymen of other communities, however great might have been the catholicity and the spirit of toleration that animated the people of ancient India. Narratives are found in the *Nikāyas* describing how Buddha himself could not get a morsel of food as alms in a village where the brāhmaṇas predominated[1]. This gives but a glimpse of a state of things which could not but have prevailed at a time when the adherents of the diverse religions were struggling for supremacy in the religious struggle. It is therefore not an error to think that during the life-time of Buddha, there came into being the lay society of the Buddhists, upon whose help and co-operation the monks could rely with confidence in the midst of stress and strain which they had to bear in their struggle with the supporters of the rival religious systems.

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[1] *Saṃ. Nik.*, I, p.114.

Some Glimpses of India in the Fifth Century B. C.*

THE period before the invasion of Alexander the Great is justly regarded as one of the dark periods of Indian history. Nevertheless, the steady advances of modern research tend to throw light on these dark periods and it is necessary that we should from time to time strike a balance between what is unknown and what has become known. In the present paper we shall consider some available sources of information regarding the history of India in the 5th century B.C. and try to draw a picture of our country presented by that dim and distant epoch.

The first source of our information is not supplied by India but comes from abroad. In some of the inscriptions of Darius the Persian emperor (521—485 B.C.), there is mention of India as one of the Persian satrapies, meaning thereby that part of India which comprised "the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea including the whole of Sindh and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. It was distinct from Aria (Hirat), Arachosia (Kandahar), and Gandaria (North-western Punjab)".[1]

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* Published in 1911.

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p.38.

Thus the inscription at Persepolis or Takht-i-Jamshad enumerates 23 satrapies of Darius of which India is mentioned as forming the 20th. In the Behistun (Bi-Satoon) inscription of 516 B.C., countries like Asia, Gandaria, etc., which were included in the India of Asoka the Great are mentioned as parts of the empire of Darius. This will be be evident from para. 6, column I of the inscription which we quote below :—

"(1) Says Darius the King :—(2) These are the countries which belong to me ; (3) by the grace of Ormuzd I have become king of them ; (4) Persia, Susiana, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those which are of the sea (*i.e.* the islands), Saparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Barangia, Asia, Charasmi, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandaria, the Sacæ, Sattagydia, Arachosia and Mecia ; (5) in all 23 provinces."[1]

In the Naksh-i-Rustum inscription also, there is not only a mention of those parts of Afghanistan and Beluchistan which belonged to the India of Asoka, but also a separate mention of India itself. We quote here the following paragraph from the above-mentioned inscription bearing on this point :—

"(3) (i) Says Darius the king :—(ii) By the grace of Ormuzd, these are the countries which I have gained besides Persia. (iii) I have established my power over them. (iv) They have brought tribute to me. (v) That which has been said to them by me, that they have done. (vi) That which has been given (to them) by me, that they have possessed—

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[1] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, notes.

Media, Susiana, Parthia, Asia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Charasmia, Zaranigia, Arachapis, Satagydia, Gandaria, India, the Sacæ of Emodus (?), the Sacæ of the valley of (?) Tigris, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia, the Scythians, beyond the sea (namely) the Scorda, the Ionians, the Teberines (?), the Badians (?) (or Boctians ?), the Cossians, the Souromstecel (?) and Greeks."[1]

Thus even in the remote period of the 5th century B. C., India was not an isolated country but there was developed a considerable intercourse between Persia and India—a fact which may be taken to explain the traces of Persian influence on Indian administration and art. Another remarkable evidence of India's political and foreign relations is afforded by the fact mentioned by Herodotus that there were Indian archers in Xerxes' army with 'iron-tipped cane arrows.' These archers from India formed a valuable element in Xerxes' army.

Herodotus is indeed an important source of our information regarding both the political and economic condition of North-western India. According to him, the part of India which formed a satrapy of Darius "paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold-dust".[2] This is taken to be worth fully a million sterling and the value of this large sum indicates that the Indian satrapy was the richest in the whole Persian empire.

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[1] *The Ancient Persian Sculptures* by K. D. Kiash,

[2] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 487.

The fact of India paying her tribute in gold naturally leads to the question—Where was the source of all this gold? According to Herodotus "there is abundance of gold in India partly brought down by the rivers and partly seized in the manner I have described".[1] The last words refer to his famous story of the gold-digging ants, which is too interesing to be passed over.

> 'The Indians,' he says, 'bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and Practiyice were very warlike and they were sent to fetch gold from the near deserts. In these places lived ants larger than foxes and very swift of speed. They heaped up sand like other ants and this sand was mixed up with gold. Each Indian took three camels, one female and the other two males, the former being placed between the latter two. The female was such as had young whom she was compelled to leave behind. The camels were harnessed together and the Indian sat upon the back of the middle one. He carried sacks which he filled with the plundered sand. The Indians used to plunder in the morning when it was hottest (for such was the impression of the writer). After filling the sacks hastily with sand, they returned about sunset with all possible speed, for otherwise the ants which hid themselves underground during the hot morning would come above ground during the cooler hours of the rest of the day and would kill them. The female camel anxious to meet her young dragged the other camels who were prone to slackening their pace.'

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[1] McCrindle's *Classical Literature*, '*Herodotus*.

This story is repeated by subsequent writers like Pliny, Aelian, Chrysostom and even by more trustworthy writers like Megasthenes and Nearchus.

The real origin of the theory of the ant-gold was first explained by Dr. Wilson who pointed out that the Sanskrit name for small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was *paippalaka*= ant-gold in reference to their resemblance to ants in size and form. The Greeks accepted a too literal meaning of the word and supposed that gold was dug out by ants. The further addition of the myth referred to by Pliny who says that "the horns of the gold-digging ants were preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythral" has been explained by Prof. V. Ball, F. R. S., an eminent geologist, Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Schiern. The explanation may be thus given in Prof. Ball's words :—

> "The so-called myth was not cleared up till by chance, information was received as to the customs and habits of the Tibetan gold-miners of the present day. The *myrmeces* of Herodotus and Megasthenes were Tibetan miners and their dogs. The horns mentioned by Pliny were the gold-miners' pick-axes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R. Lydekker, that the picks in use in Ladak consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles."

So it seems that the fable was not without a basis of truth. That gold was abundant in North-western India is proved by the following testimony of the eminent geologist Prof. Ball :—

"The Indus itself and some of its tributaries are known to have been auriferous which in the lapse of time after yielding large supplies of gold became too exhausted to be of much present consideration".[1]

We thus see that the wealth of India was already famous even in the early days of Herodotus. There are also a few other evidences which indicate that India was a rich country. The *Bāveru Jātaka* which relates the adventures of Indian merchants taking to Babylon by sea the first peacock for sale indicates according to Prof. Bühler that "the Banias of Western India undertook trading voyages to the shores of the Persian Gulf or of its rivers in the 5th or perhaps in the 6th century B.C."[2] In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Nikāyas there are references to Indian ships sailing on the ocean far away from land.

Finally much light is also thrown on some features in the economic condition of India by the discovery on the Nepal frontier of the Piprawa Stūpa belonging to 450 B.C., the construction and contents of which lead to several inferences. As V. A. Smith has remarked, the stūpa gives 'definite information' that among Indian craftsmen of 450 B.C., there were skilled masons, accomplished stone-cutters and dainty jewellers :

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 1884: *A geologist's contribution to the history of ancient India.*

[2] *Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 84.

> "The masonry of the stupa is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid ; the great stand-stone coffer could not be better made ; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of the lapidary and goldsmith."

An examination of the crystal bowl and the steatite vases accompanying it shows that they are all turned on the lathe[1] "and we thus learn that the Indian lapidaries were familiar with the use of the lathe in or about 450 B. C." Equally evident is the skill of the ancient Indian craftsmen in "shaping, polishing and piercing gems of extreme hardness as well as the extensive use of jewellery of an elaborate kind."

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[1] See *Imperial Gazetteer* (new ed.), vol. II.

State-Interference in Industries in Ancient India

The close touch of government with the economic interests may lead to good or evil according to the nature and method of governmental action. The State may appropriate to itself an undue share of economic functions to the detriment and curtailment of economic freedom of individuals; on the other hand, by imposing proper limitations on its own activity it can furnish a valuable aid to individual enterprise and regulate and strengthen it by its superior power and wisdom. The government may interfere with the actions of individuals in the economic field mainly in two ways :—

1. By its own economic actions ; and
2. By enforcing law, positive or otherwise.

Some instances.

The early economic history of every country may furnish many examples of interference of both the sorts. To cite a few instances from European economic history : Elizabeth and her predecessors possessed many monopolies which were resented by the people at large and had at last to be abandoned. Henry VIII forbade the exportation of any horse worth more than 6s. 8d. and allowed any one to buy a horse about to be exported for 7s. He also enacted that all weakly foals should be killed in order that only the larger kinds of horses might be reared, and prohibited the importation of bound books for the encouragement of English book-binders. Many such restrictions have been imposed upon foreign trade in the European countries from the early mediæval period downwards, many of which still continue. The restraint on speculation in the markets of mediæval European countries is well-known, as also the regulation of prices of some commodities by the central government. The sumptuary laws which indirectly affect the industries took their origin in ancient Greece and Italy, and continued up to modern times. The modern European sovereigns who passed important sumptuary laws were Edward II and Edward III of England, Philip IV of France, James I of Aragon and Frederick II of Italy. From these it appears how the trades and industries in those days were hedged in by restrictions that covered a very wide range, from the export or import of commodities to the wearing of apparels. Great many as these restrictions were, we do not reach their full measure, unless we bear in mind those that took their origin in local usages, or were imposed by guilds and corporations, with the indirect support of the central government at their back.

State monopolies.

All these economic phenomena more or less had their counterpart in ancient India :—

1. (*a*) The government in ancient India held monopolies in some departments of industry. I do not count the economic services that the State renders by prohibiting individual action in certain fields of business, and taking on itself the burden of satisfying the economic want of the people in those fields, *e. g.*, the minting of coins to the exclusion of private coinage, the supply of weights and measures, etc. I take into account only the positive economic functions performed by the State. Direct evidences in regard to State monopolies previous to Maurya period are wanting ; but such evidences are available for the early Maurya period. On the testimony of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, the government of the first Maurya ruler monopolized the capture and therefore the supply of elephants.[1] From the *Kauṭilīya* we learn that the State had monopoly in the manufacture of salt. The exploitation of mines was not an exclusive monopoly of the State like the manufacture of salt. Individual capitalists were allowed to work out mines of certain kinds under leases from the government.[2] There may

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[1] Fragm. XXXVI.

[2] *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, vol. I, p. 8.

have been a few other *partial monopolies* of this sort, in which private enterprise obtained scope for work only by express permission from the government. The exclusive monopolies were few, perhaps not more than what I have indicated above.

Government and private capitalists.

We do not meet with cases of delegation of monopolies to individuals by patents, as done for instance in Elizabethan England.

(*b*) The government took part in certain industries side by side with private capitalists. We notice a few such industries in the *Arthaśāstra*, such as the manufacture of articles from metals obtained from mines worked by government; the manufacture of articles from the raw materials obtained from State forests; agriculture, manufacture of textiles, ornaments and conveyances of some kinds, cattle-rearing, etc.

It was not however the intention of government to come into competition with private enterprisers. Nor could the participation of the State in the industries in those days have been what it is at present. To realize the position, the following facts should be borne in mind :—

(*i*) The main object of the State seems to have been to meet its own principal needs from the labours of artisans and workers in its employ, and make itself self-sufficing to that extent.

(*ii*) The raw materials or commodities sold by the State were necessarily the balance that was left after the demands of the State had been satisfied.

(*iii*) The prices of commodities were regulated a good deal by custom and State influence, leaving a smaller scope for the operation of competition.

(*iv*) In those days, when means of communication were necessarily tardier than now, competition was checked by the barriers of time and distance.[1]

(*v*) Vast fields of industrial activity lay unexplored, in which the State competition, limited as it was, could not have meant what it does now in some industries. Within its restricted area, it did much good both to the State and the people without the attendant evils that we generally associate with State enterprise. It put the government on an independent footing in respect of its principal needs while at the same time the pioneering works of the State in new or insufficiently explored fields of industry together with the methods employed by it in the production of commodities and the management of the concerns connected therewith served as an example and stimulus to the people and supplied those economic wants of the country for which individual enterprise was shy or lacking.

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[1] *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, pp. 12ff., 69ff, etc.

(*c*) The government stepped in to provide those works of public utility for which State enterprise was more effective than private efforts. The establishment and maintenance of highways and canals, dams and bridges, etc., was a special charge upon the State. This branch of State-interference becomes harmful by going beyond certain limits by reason of diversion of the revenue to objects, the expenses of which should not be charged upon the general public.

(*d*) The State prohibited such sports and amusements as had a baneful influence upon the operatives by diminishing their efficiency through contraction of irregular habits and practices.[1]

(*e*) The State encouraged individual enterprise in various departments of industry by bonuses and remissions of taxes,[2] and fostered foreign commerce by preferential exemptions to foreign traders[3] and Indians engaged in foreign commerce[4].

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*, II, *Janapadaniveśa*, p. 41.

[2] See *Mbh.*, Sabhā, Ch. 7, ślk. 118.

[3] & [4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, p. 98.

Punishment of economic abuses.

2. (*i*) There were a great many legal enactments for punishing economic abuses or deviations from what was customary or laid down as the proper line of action. Examples of such regulation through criminal law may be drawn from all the great departments of economic actions of the people of ancient India. In the field of production, the culturable lands, for instance, were not allowed to lie fallow for more than a certain period. The weavers had to conform to certain proportions between the quantity of thread, silk, wool, etc., supplied to them and the quantity of those things in the manufactured textiles. Washermen were bound to comply with rules as to the time for returning the clothes ; and as they combined with their ordinary works of washing that of dyeing, the time for returning them varied with the variations in their colourings.[1] Parallel to this in mediæval Europe, the State directly, or indirectly through guilds and corporations supported by the State, "enforced with penalties minute regulations regarding the quality, weights, and measures of all kind of wares."

The domain of exchange had also its restrictions. The penalties attaching to breaches of the law regulating prices, or place and time of holding markets, as also those in respect of trading in prohibited merchandise, and such other rules of the penal law mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* are some instances in point. Some classes of traders of Europe even up to modern times were not in a better position than their brethern in ancient India as regards restrictions, the removal of which would have given them a full hand and bettered the trades concerned, as the experience of later years has shown. In England even, "the laws regulating trade in sheep and wool were written in blood and what strikes us perhaps even more, they were curiously refined in their cruelty—the penalties ascending from fines through dismemberment up to death itself (*e. g.*, the left hand to be cut off and nailed up in the market-place on a market day)."

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IV (*Kārukarakṣaṇam*), pp. 200, 201.

Ways of interference.

In the field of consumption, the Hindus of ancient India were not altogether free from what corresponded to sumptuary laws of Europe, though much of the restraint effected by these laws was enforced by custom and religion instead. There were, for instance, some rules regulating the quantities of liquor sold in grog shops, the number of which was much restricted. A *brāhmaṇa* taking to drinking was severely punished.[1]

(*ii*) The State may interfere negatively by refusing to enforce promises of performance of certain transactions, the reasons for refusal resting on the nature of the elements making up the transaction. The law of contract of a country embodies the details as to the legality of such transactions, which being analysed can give us the minutiæ of State-interference. The Hindu law of contract had a very early origin and can be clearly traced back to the 4th century B. C. Its details show that the Hindu government refused to give a contract its suppprt for want of legal capacity of *parties* (both natural and artificial persons) for non-compliance with the essential *form*, as also for its illegal *substance*. It is not possible to give here details of the Hindu law of contract in all its branches and the changes they underwent or the accretions they obtained at different periods,[2] but it should be stated that through the laws bearing on the various modes of contract such as sale, deposit, loan, mortgage, pledge, partnership, etc., the State touched the economic life of the people at many points.

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[1] *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, pp. 102, 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 136, 195; also Colebrooke's *Digest*.

(*iii*) Lastly, the Government influences the economic condition of the land by simply giving effect to the wishes of the parties or the settled law of the country. The Hindu law of inheritance for instance with its peculiar rules for division of property on the death of the owner enforced by the State was greatly responsible for the peculiar distribution of wealth in the hands of individuals—a factor so full of consequences for good or evil from the economic standpoint.

The above brief survey acquaints us with the numerous directions in which the State exerted its influence, positive or negative, affecting the material condition of ancient India. The points of contact between the State and the economic life of the people were in some directions a good many—a state of things parallel to what we meet with in the early economic history of countries both European and Asiatic.

The Progress of Researches in Indian History*

THE month of Vaiśākha, 1279 B. S, is a memorable period in the history of Bengali literature. It was at that time that Baṅkimcandra published the *Vaṅgadarśana* under his able editorship. It was in this magazine that he commenced writing the history of Bengal and the Bengalis. His articles on this subject are an invaluable asset of our national literature and should be read by every writer on history. I wish to preface my address with the message which Baṅkimcandra, the great patriot of Bengal and an ardent lover of its history, preached to the Bengalis with his trumpet-voice regarding the benefits derived from the reading and writing of the history of Bengal: "Bengal needs badly its history, without which Bengal has no hope. Who will write it? It will be written by you, myself, all; every Bengali will have to write it............Is there no pleasure in the telling of the story of our common mother, the land of our birth, Bengal?"

**From the address delivered at the 14th session* (1923) *of the All-Bengal Literary Conference at Naihati as President of the Historical Section.*

Baṅkimcandra is no longer in the land of the living but from his resting place in the world beyond, he can see how his compatriots are today feeling a keen pleasure in historical discussions or researches and a good many distinguished writers, young and old, have devoted themselves to the collection of the materials necessary for the history of the province. They have fully realized that in order to know properly the land of their birth, to have a deep insight into the nature of themselves and the race to which they belong, the writing of history is essential and there is no other alternative. The ancient history of Bengal is radiant with the brilliance of its past glories and tinged with their golden hue. It was for this reason perhaps that Baṅkimcandra with the object of rousing the memory of the glorious past in the mind of the Bengalis has remarked : "The race that is conscious of its past glories tries to keep them up in the present, and to recover them, if lost......... The writing of history, or renovation of same by the incorporation of new materials is an object of pride to the race. History is the foundation of sociology and national aspirations. A race, without the records of its past, has to suffer endless miseries. Bengal must have history of its own or else the Bengalis will never be counted as men." To be counted as such and to fulfil the mission that *men* should have, to rescue from oblivion the glories of the past, to know what we were and what we have been, we require history, and we ought to engage ourselves in the study of history, in archæological explorations, and in economic and sociological investigations. It is very fortunate for us that the day has arrived. The historical accounts of the districts of Bengal are being written and published, many old manuscripts, inscriptions, copper plates, coins, and images are being discovered in Bengal. The efforts of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, the Varendra Research Society, and the Sāhitya Pariṣads of Dacca, Rangpur, and Midnapore have contributed much towards the elucidation of the history of Bengal and the recovery of its historical treasures. For the last thirty years, Bengal has been inspired, as it were, with a new life consecrated to the compilation of materials for its history.

While speaking of the history and antiquities of Bengal, our mind turns naturally to the history of India. For this reason, we shall dwell on the history of India first, and then of Bengal. At the outset, I would like to make a few observations as to the ideal, historians should follow, in writing histories. The views that have been expressed by Mr. Kalidas Nag in a paper on the international spirit and teaching of history at the Third International

Congress of Moral Education, 1922, are worthy of consideration in this connexion.

A change in the ideal to be followed by historians in writing histories.

"The historians with congenital human weakness *for the uncommon* and *the extraordinary*, have generally emphasized cataclysmic factors in society like *war*, and exaggerated the importance of the *Supermen*, the Heroes of history. Thus the normal and actual development of human society through peace and co-operation has been overshadowed by the lurid clouds of war and hatred. So, the history of the millions of men and women, the Helots and the Pariahs mutely bearing the painful burden of the 'civilized' man, have been forgotten in the glamour of Hero-worship. By a curious perversion of judgment, the progress of human civilisation has come to be represented as depending inevitably on *war*. History has lent herself to be used as a tool in the hands of politicians and economists, and failed to answer to the spiritual questionings of man. The vandalisms of Alexander the Great in Egypt, Persia and India are coolly accepted by masters as well as pupils as a legitimate means of propagation of culture to uncivilized peoples. Yet when Attila repeats similar experiments on Europe, there is a tremendous moral indignation against the Asiatic Hun. If we want now to re-establish

History on her only true pedestal of truth and humanity, every individual writer and teacher of history must immediately start the work of expiation, search into the causes of this dire disease of international hatred, and apply prompt remedy so as to restore the world to its normal life of *Peace* and *Progress.* The narrow nationalistic propaganda to which the historians of all countries, more or less, have lent their aid, teaching to the German boy that his fatherland is the only *elect* land in the globe, to the English boy that his country can do no wrong, and to the French boy that his *Patrie* is ever on the side of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—this palpable caricature of Reality must be given up, and saner, and wider outlook of International History should be introduced."[1]

The prevalence of the present method of writing history since the 19th century.

The present method of writing history came into vogue in the 19th century. The progress of the various sciences has made easier the work of collection of historical evidences and has rendered it possible to throw light on those periods which would otherwise remain dark for ever. Moreover, we are now in possession of methods of rigorously testing the historical evidences at our disposal. We can examine the evidences available from a particular source in the light of those received from other sources; as for instance, the testimony of a piece of literary evidence can be tested by coins, inscriptions or similar finds. Or again the accounts left by travellers or historians of a particular country can now be compared with those furnished by writers of a different country to elicit the truth, eliminating the errors and blemishes existing in the one set of evidences or the other. The facility of travels in the various countries by the applications of steam and electricity has served to remove the erroneous but deep-rooted notions about the peoples of distant countries. The historian has commenced to focus light upon his subjects of investigations with the help of Ethnology and Anthropology. The discovery of hundreds of inscriptions and their decipherment have done away with many a baseless notion entertained by the people.

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[1] *Modern Review*, 1923, pp. 188ff.

Archæology has brought about a revolution in the science of history.

It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the unexpected facilities which archæological investigations conducted on scientific lines have provided in the way of collecting historical materials. The inscription on the well-known Rosetta stone discovered at the time of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition marked the beginning of archæological explorations in Egypt. After many years of untiring labour and perseverance, Thomas Young and J. F. Champollion succeeded in deciphering the inscription. This will ever be remembered as a remarkable achievement of modern times in the domain of archæology. The rapid pace at which progress has been made in the knowledge of the history and antiquities of Egypt from this time onwards with the help of the new methods of collecting evidences, really astonishes an onlooker. The application of these methods has rendered it possible to depict the various forms of civilizations that grew up in ancient Asia Minor [*History of Egypt* by Maspero & others, vol. xii (by S. Rappoport), chs. vi & vii].

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, archæology, numismatics, epigraphy, etc., brought about a new era in the writing of Indian history. The *J. A. S. B.* (iii, pp. 105, 106), the *Asiatic Researches* (v, p. 136) acquaint us with the erroneous belief held by the people about the Asoka pillar inscription at Delhi, and other Asoka inscriptions viz. that when the Pāṇḍavas were living incognito, they could not make acquaintance with any one outside their party ; but their well-wishers Vidura and Vyāsa felt it necessary for their safety to communicate to them at times useful news. To fulfil this object they used to write their message upon rocks, and slabs of stone in forests in symbols unintelligible to others. The pillar at Delhi was believed to have been Bhīmasena's staff for grinding his *bhang*. Once a paṇḍit gave Major Wilford a manuscript which, he stated, would enable him to decipher the inscription. The interpretation which Major Wilford put upon a portion of the inscription at Ellora and Salsette has been published in the *Asiatic Researches*. It favours the view of the inscription connected with the stay of the Pāṇḍavas incognito. Of the scholars whose keen insight penetrated this veil of darkness shrouding the true nature of the Asoka inscriptions, the name of Mr. James Prinsep stands out as the foremost.

The importance of numismatics.

The evidence of the old coins helps a good deal the writing of history and the testing of accuracy of dates of events. When we read an historical work, the importance of the evidence of coins is not fully realized, because such evidence is used in combination with other kinds of evidence to establish particular facts. To realize the importance properly, we should look at the way in which a full-fledged history is composed. There are names of many kings or dates of their reigns which are known by the testimony of coins alone. We learn from the memoir of the well-known numismatist Mr. E. Thomas that he got from a coin the name of Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah, a Sultan of Bengal, who reigned from 1350 to 1352 A. D. Before the discovery of this coin, no historical work had mentioned the name of the Sultan and it is stated by Dr. Hoernle that but for the coin the existence of the Sultan would have remained unknown. The two memoirs published by Mr. E. Thomas in 1867 and 1873 inform us that he collected the historical materials for the early portion of the Muhammadan rule in Bengal from the 13,500 silver coins procured in Cooch Behar. The names of the Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra were not found in any historical document. If coins bearing their names had not been discovered in 1824, no one can tell how long they would have remained in oblivion [*Centenary Review* (A.S.B.), pt. ii, pp. 100, 131].

The editing of old manuscripts is another method of collecting historical evidence.

The assistance of old manuscripts in regard to the collection of historical evidences is not small. The editing of such manuscripts has made it possible for us to know many facts and events which otherwise would have remained unknown. Many manuscripts of the kind have up to now been edited in India and other countries. The scientific method followed by the Europeans in the editing of manuscripts is extremely arduous. The *Lalita-vistara*, for instance, edited by Lefmann in 1902, contains 444 pages devoted to the text and 226 pages to the variant readings. A glance at Mr. E. Senart's *Mahāvastu-avadāna* and one or two books of the Pāli

Text Society will show how expensive and laborious it is to edit a manuscript in a scientific way. Many of you are no doubt aware that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona has recently undertaken to edit the *Mahābhārata* in the aforesaid way. It has published a pamphlet to explain in detail the process to be followed by it in bringing out the edition. It proposes to utilize all the articles in diverse languages that have hitherto been published about the epic in the various countries, all the editions, that have up to now been published, and all the available manuscripts of the epic that would be found useful in the public and private libraries of the various countries. The number of manuscripts of the whole or portions of the *Mahābhārata* preserved in the various collections is 1300. The edited work would be completed in about 10,000 pages, of which the index of Prākṛt words would cover 3000 pages, and a dissertation on the relation of the epic to its Java recension, and many other topics, 1000 pages. The total cost is estimated to be Rs 2, 70,000/-. The editing of manuscripts in this way with an attempt to determine their historical value is new in this country.

If manuscripts be edited in the proper way, we can get at many facts of historical value imbedded in them. But for this purpose, the editor should have a general culture in addition to the special knowledge of the process of editing. The influence of the progress of the various sciences has made itself felt in the field of history and has changed and regulated the method of collection of historical materials and the writing of history. Darwin's theory of evolution has cast its influence over all the social sciences. The investigations in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and ethnology are being subjected to the same rigid rules that we find to be regulating the investigations in connection with the physical sciences. We try to find out in the historical events the same connection of causal sequence or gradual evolution that we try to find in the physical phenomena. Though, of course, one or two European writers tried to write histories on this line, yet a wide application of the method is found only in modern times.

The physical sciences and history.

It is needless to mention that the writing of histories according to the present scientific method was an impossibility in India and western countries in early times. Greece was fortunate in having able writers of history like Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus from the 5th century B. C. as also Rome in having authors like Livy and Tacitus, but unfortunately India can not name such Indian writers in the corresponing periods. We think at times that the ancient

The ancient Hindu view of the importance of history.

Hindus did not pay the same amount of attention to secular matters as they did to religion and philosophy and it is futile to expect history from a people who used to look upon all mundane matters as transitory and unimportant, and the attainment of the highest stage of spiritual culture as the only object worth achieving. A passage in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv, 24, 58-75) shows the angle of vision from which most of the ancient Hindus used to look at all material wealth as evanescent and worthless : "Māndhātā, Sagara, Avikṣita, Raghu, Yayāti, Nahuṣa etc. were very powerful kings and possessed immeasurable wealth. But inspite of their great power, they have now in course of time been reduced to mere names.......... The great material wealth of Rāmacandra, Daśānana, Avikṣita etc. has been in a trice reduced to nothing by the wink of Time,—the great destroyer." Max Nordau has in his *Interpretation of History* (pp. 369, 370) made a thoughtful remark on this point. Says he : "we must cease to regard humanity from the point of view of eternity. It dwindles else before our eyes to an almost invisible speck, without permanence, significance, or aim, the contemplation of which leaves us utterly humiliated, broken and dispirited." Hence to realise the importance of history dealing with worldly matters, we must shut our eyes to eternity and turn our eyes to this world. If the secular aspect of our life has any significance in the development of manhood, if it be a rung in the ladder leading to our spiritual well-being, then certainly the welfare of our national life, with which is so closely connected the welfare of our individual life, is a thing of great importance, and to shape this national life in a proper way, the utilization of light from the past is necessary.

Sufficient evidences are available to prove that the ancient Hindus were not indifferent to their secular welfare in all the periods of their history. First, we see that the ancient Hindus advanced much in the culture of the secular arts and sciences including the sciences of Vārttā (economics) and Daṇḍanīti (polity). If it be admitted that all the ancient Hindus were detached from the world and regarded worldly life as a burden, then the causes that led to the advance of the sciences and the fine arts could not come into being. Secondly, though there was a number of people indifferent to worldly matters, there was a class of people who were of opinion that this world is the stepping-stone to the well-being of man in all directions and *artha* (wealth) forming an element of the *caturvarga* is the foundation, so to speak, of the other three elements. Thirdly, attraction to this world is the law of nature; hence, it is impossible that all or most of the people would be indifferent to worldly matters in contravention of this law. Though the opinion is current that the ancient Hindus did not realize the importance of history, we are gradually coming to realize that the opinion is not sound. History has been mentioned as a subject of study in many places in Sanskrit literature from the Vedic period downwards.[1]

Mention of *Itihāsa* in Sanskrit literature.

It appears from the use of *itihāsa* in the plural in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and *Manusaṃhitā* that several *itihāsas* were in existence in those days. There is also mention of *itihāsa* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

Recognition of the imprtance of the study of *itihāsa* in ancient India.

It is written in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (I, 5) that the prince should study *itihāsa* and that he should be taught by ministers versed in *itihāsa* (v,6). This shows that the ancient Indians realised the importance of the study of *itihāsa* for political purposes.

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[1] *Atharva Veda* xi, 64; *S. Br.*, I, 3, 4; 3, 12, 16; *Jaim. Br.* I, 53; *Gopatha Br.* I, 10; *Taitti. Āra.*, II, 9; *Chā. Up.*, VII, I, 2, 4; *Sāṅ. Sr. Sū.*, xvi, 20, 27; *Āṣva. Gṛ. Sū.* iv, 6, 6; *Manu*, IV, 232; *Nirukta*, II, 10; 24; 4, 7 etc; Intro. to Mahābhāṣya; *Kādambarī* (Part I, account of the education of Candrāpīḍa)

A separate class of men for the study of *itihāsa*.

We learn from evidences in Yāska's *Nirukta*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the *Purāṇas* that from ancient times there emerged in India a class of men for the special study of *itihāsa* and by it was handed down from generation to generation the knowledge of *itihāsa*. Yāska has quoted this class of men in several places in his *Nirukta* (II, 16, 2 ; xii, 1, 8; xii,10, 1). Pargiter remarks in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (p. 26) that the use of the terms *purāvid*, *purāṇavid*, *purāṇajña* and *paurāṇika-jana* proves the existence of the said class of men ; moreover, the *purāṇas* always mention the *sūtas* and the *māgadhas*. It was the duty of the former to preserve the genealogies of the gods, the ṛṣis, the princes and distinguished men (*Vāyu-P.*, I, 31-32 ; *Padma-P.*, v, 1, 27-28). In the Golaka khaṇḍa (xii, 36) of the *Garga Saṃhitā* and in the commentary on the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (vi. 6) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *sūtas* have been mentioned as *paurāṇikas*, and the *māgadhas* as preservers of genealogies. It has been remarked in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* that the *paurāṇika sūtas* and *māgadhas* are different from the people of castes of those names who are offspring of inter-caste marriages in the *pratiloma* order. Pargiter (op. cit., p. 17) has shown on the basis of a *śloka* in the *Mahābhārata* that the name *sūta* was applied to the *pratilomaja* caste of later times on account of its adoption of the profession of the *paurāṇika sūtas*[1]. The application of the terms *vaṃśāvittama, vaṃśakuśala* etc. to the ancient *sūta*s in the *purāṇas* proves that they used to preserve a class of historical materials by memorising the genealogies. The ancient Indian *aitihāsikas* realised that a collection of genealogies did not constitute history. The contents of *itihāsa* should, according to them, include teachings on *dharma, artha, kāma,* and *mokṣa,* and point to the improvement or degradation of society by their narrative of events. Very probably, the laying of an undue emphasis upon making histories full of religious teachings interfered with their purity as histories. It seems that the *Mahābhārata* has been called *itihāsa* par excellence in view of its didactic character, which was regarded as an important feature of history (*Mbh.,* Ādi., I, 266) and the play of imagination has been given a place in it ; for we see in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (I. 5) that *itihāsa* includes a *purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharaṇa, dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra.* It is when we look at this comprehensive sense of *itihāsa* that

The comprehensive sense of *itihāsa.*

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[1] Yaśca kṣatrāt samabhavad brāhmaṇyāṃ hīnayonitaḥ

we can understand why products of imagination have been incorporated in history (*Padma-P.*-II, 85, 15 ; *Vāyu-P.* 55, 2.). Though the six types of literature were included in *itihāsa*, yet the ancient Indians were fully conscious of the speciality of the type which contained facts. The five subjects that formed the subject-matter of the *purāṇas* are regarded as the five characteristics. They are *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vaṃśa*, *vaṃśānucarita* and *manvantara*. Under *vaṃśa* and *vaṃśānucarita* were recorded the names of kings, the periods for which they reigned, and noteworthy events connected with the distinguished kings. The nature of the *udāharaṇa* will be clear from two passages in the *Arthaṣāstra* of Kauṭilya (I, 3) and the *Kāmasūtrā* of Vatsyāyana (I, 2.) which, I think, are instances of *udāharaṇa*. These instances have been cited in the passages to show that self-control is extremely necessary in sovereigns and even the most powerful of of them, names of whom have been given, were received for want of self-control. The portion of the *udāharaṇa* appearing in the passages is as follows :—"Dāṇḍakya Bhoja was ruined with his kingdom and friend by falling a victim to *sensuality* which made him inordinately attached to a brāhmaṇa girl. The fate of Vaideha Karāla

Sūtaḥ pūrvena sādharmyāt tulyadharmaḥ
prakīrtitaḥ

was similar. Janamejaya, and Tālajaṅgha were ruined by their *anger* against brāhmaṇas, and Bhṛgus respectively ; Aila and Sauvira Ajabindu by their *avarice*, which goaded them to exact enormous wealth from the four castes ; Rāvaṇa and Duryodhana by their *extreme conceit*, which prompted the one not to return another's wife, and the other not to admit the legitimate share of his co-sharers in the kingdom ; Dambhodbhava and Haihaya Arjuna by *infatuation*, which led them to insult the people ; and Vātāpi Vṛṣnisaṅgha by killing Agastya and Dvaipāyana respectively in fits of excessive *delight*". In the two ślokas following the passage quoted above, it has been stated that there were many other kings whose names could have been cited as examples. On the other hand, the names of Jāmadagnya, Ambarīṣa, Nābhāga have been cited as examples of kings who ruled the earth happily by reason of their self-control. It seems that the *udāharaṇa* embodies facts and not mere imagination. As regards the nature of the *itivṛtta*, I think that it dealt at length with the past events (*Mbh.*, I, 1, 16). The mention of '*itivṛtta* of kings and ṛṣis' as well as the 'sacred *purāṇa-saṃhitā* embodying *dharma* and *artha*' in the same verse supports the same view. The *Vāyu* (103, 48, 51, 55) and *Brahmāṇḍa* (4, 4, 47, 50) *Purāṇas* are found to be simultaneously *purāṇa* and *itihāsa* i. e. they contain the teachings of the *purāṇas* as also the facts of the *itihāsa*. Here *itihāsa* has been used in its narrower sense.

Evidence of the existence of Sanskrit historical works now extinct.

It may be questioned here that if the ancient Hindus realized the importance of *itihāsa*, then, why no history written in Sanskrit is available. The destruction of big libraries like those at Nālandā and Odanta-purī during Muhammadan rule supplies the answer to the question. Such events are not rare in the history of India ; hence, it can be easily imagined why we cannot get copies of the several Sanskrit historical works, the existence of which in former days is testified by incontrovertible evidence.

The *Nīla-piṭa* mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Leaving aside the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, we find lists of ancient Indian kings in the *Purāṇas* up to the commencement of the reign of the Gupta Kings in the in the 4th century A.D. About the recording of historical events after that period, Yuan Chwang (Watters, I, p. 154) remarks, "the official annals and state-papers are called collectively ni-lo-pi-tu ; in these good and bad (events) are recorded, and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail."

Kalhaṇa (12th C., A. D.) says that he has utilized the works of eleven preceding historians besides the *Nīlamata-purāṇa* in the composition of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Among them he mentions the names of Kṣemendra and Helārāja, the authors of *Nṛpāvalī* and *Pārthivāvalī* respectively, and of Padmamihira, Chavillākar, Jonarāja, Śrīvrata and Prājyabhaṭṭa. It appears from Kalhaṇa's introduction to his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that there had been in existence several historical works, a good many of which were lost by the time he wrote his. Kalhaṇa's statement that 'the oldest extensive works containing the royal chronicles (of Kāśmīr) have become fragmentary in consequence of (the appearance of) Suvrata's composition, who condensed them in order that (their substance) might be easily remembered' makes it clear that history was regarded as an important subject of study in those days and there were several historical works, the use of which was facilitated by Suvrata's compilation.

The historical works and historians mentioned by Kalhaṇa.

Abridgment of historical works.

Col. Todd remarks in the introduction (pp. viii, ix) to his *Rājasthān* that a glance at Cānd-kavi's Pṛthvīrāj Rāso shows that from 1000 to 1193 A. D., there existed in India many historical works, none of which are available at present.

Todd on the existence of historical works.

Śrī Harṣa's *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* and *Gauḍorvīśakulapraśasti.*

Śrī Harṣa (1280 A. D.) in his *Naiṣadhīya* has mentioned two historical kāvyas *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* and *Gauḍorvīśakula-praśasti* composed by himself. None of these works are now extant.

Use of historical compilations in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi.*

It has been stated by Merutuṅga (14th c.) in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (I, 3) that it was composed with materials drawn from the *ākhyāna* portion of several compilations, none of which are available.

The cause of the rarity of historical works in India can be explained if we look to the political troubles and revolutions through which India has passed showing that our notion about the indifference of the ancient Indians to historical studies is baseless.

The value of the remnants of historical works, now available.

We would now dwell upon the value of the historical works that have come down to us inspite of so many difficulties. Naturally the *purāṇas* should have our first attention. Mr. Pargiter has shown (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 24) from the account of the origin of the *purāṇas*, as given in the *Padma Purāṇa* (vi, 29, 37), that the ancient *ṛṣis* collected the materials of the *purāṇas* from the *itivṛttas*. From the frequent use of the expressions '*anuśuśrumaḥ*', '*iti naḥ śrutam*', '*iti śrutiḥ*' etc. in the *purāṇas*, it appears that their authors had to depend upon materials handed down by oral tradition. The *purāṇas* are so called because they contain accounts of ancient events. In view of the form in which the *purāṇas* are found at present, the appellation *itihāsa* cannot be applied to them. It is stated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III, 6, 16) that sages versed in ancient historical lore have composed the *purāṇas* by incorporating in them *ākhyānas*, *upākhyānas*, *gāthās* and *kalpajoktis*. The extant *purāṇas* are of this sort. We learn from the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (I, 39, 61) that in course of time, the *purāṇas* and *itihāsas* became separate. To bring the *purāṇas* within the limits of the *itihāsas*, Śrīdharasvāmin commenting on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III, 4, 10) has given the following characteristics of the *itihāsas* :

ārṣādibahuvyākhyānaṃ devarṣicaritāśrayam,
itihāsamiti proktaṃ bhaviṣyādbhutadharmayuk.

(An *itihāsa* contains many narratives about ṛṣis etc., accounts of deeds of devarṣis, prophecies, and narrations of wonderful events).

Difference between the first and later stages of *purāṇas*.

It has been stated already that there was a time when the tendency became strong to make *itihāsas* full of religious teachings. This together with the characteristics of being coupled with the *Bhaviṣya* and *Adbhuta dharma* changed the nature of *itihāsa-purāṇa*. Probably '*vaṃśa*' and '*vaṃśānu-*

carita' formed at first the subject-matter of the *purāṇas*; then *sarga* (primary creations), *prati-sarga* (secondary creations) and *manvantara* (chronological cycles) came to be considered as part of the subject-matter; and gradually these five characteristics of the *purāṇas* were increased to the ten characteristics mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*. But even with the help of these *purāṇas*, we can in many cases get at the true picture of facts and events of olden times. According to Mr. Pargiter (op. cit. p. 24), it appears from the use of the terms like *icchanti* (*Vāyu P.*, 95, 15) that if there arose a doubt about the correctness of a name in a genealogy, attempts were made to remove that doubt and elicit the correct name by discussions. The accuracy of many portions of the genealogies, as given in the *purāṇas*, has been attested by some newly discovered inscriptions.

The value of the *caritas* and *prabandhas*.

Over and above the *purāṇas*, a few *caritas* have come down to us. Though they contain descriptions appropriate to *kāvyas*, they furnish us with facts in many cases. Their authors have generally described in them the lineage and prowess of their royal patrons, and have also given accounts of some of the contemporary kings and their kingdoms. About the trustworthiness of these *caritas*, Dr. Bühler remarks, "there is no case forthcoming in which we could affirm that a man named by these chroniclers is a pure figment of the imagination. On the contrary, nearly every freshly discovered inscription, every collection of old manuscripts, and every really historical work that is brought to light, furnishes confirmation of the actual existence of one or other of the characters described by them."[1] The following books of the said classes are available :—Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* (7th c.), Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaho* (first part of the 8th c.), Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (end of the 11th c.), Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkacarita* (11th c.), Hemacandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya* (*Kumārapālacarita*), Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmapālacarita* (*Dvyāśraya*) (11th c.), Harṣagaṇi's *Vastupālacarita*, Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakoṣa* and Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (14th c.).

Let us examine here some of the books in order to measure their historical value :—

Harṣacarita.

The *Harṣacarita* is the biography of Harṣavardhana. Dr. Bühler in his introduction to the *Vikramāṅkacarita* (p. 5) remarks, "Bāna's *Harṣacarita* contains all the main facts given in the corresponding portion of Yuan Chuang's narrative of his visit to Harṣavardhana's court. But it adds many details and enables us to correct the Chinese traveller on many points where his bias in favour of Buddhism or imperfect information has led him astray."

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[1] *Über das leben des Jaina mönches Hemacandra*, p. 6.

Vikramāṅkacarita.

The number of inscriptions relating to the Chalukyas is large. They testify to the accuracy of the statements made in the *Vikramāṅkacarita.*

Navasāhasāṅkacarita.

The *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* contains descriptions of marriage etc. of the king of Malwa, named Sindhurāj of Paramāra dynasty. Regarding this book Dr. Bühler remarks that though this *carita* contains fiction, it completes and extends the information supplied by the inscriptions[1].

Gauḍavaho.

The glories of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, have been related in the Prākṛta work *Gauḍavaho.* Though it is called *Gauḍavaho* it does not contain much information about the king of Gauḍa. We have in it some information regarding events up to the ruin of Yaśovarman by Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*

Dvyāśrayakāvya.

Hemacandra while giving illustrations of the rules of Sanskrit and Prākṛta grammar in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* has given accounts of the kings of Anahillapura, and of Kumārapāla specially in the prākṛta portion.

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 36, p. 139.

Prabandha-cintāmaṇi

Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, composed in the 14th century gives a running account of Gujrat.

Rāja-taraṅgiṇī.

The historical value of a portion of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is very high. It is *kāvya* but it was not written for eulogizing a royal patron. In the first portion of the work, we find much play of imagination and many blemishes; but in the latter portions, the account of the kings from the 7th century downwards is good history. The author has like a true historian criticized the merits and demerits of kings contemporary with him or preceding him by some time, and has also delineated the causes of the rise and downfall of the kingdoms. He has himself stated that at the time of utilizing the materials found in the historical works of authors anterior to him, he subjected them to a careful examination in the light of the inscriptions recording the consecrations of temples, grants by former kings, laudatory inscriptions, and the *śāstras* (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 15)

The ideal of an historian as set forth by Kalhaṇa.

Kalhaṇa has praised the historian who can delineate facts uninfluenced by anger, hatred etc. (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 7). This shows that the Indian historians had not a low ideal before them for the writing of histories.

The mode of preserving and handing down

The bhāṭs, varotras, cāraṇas of later times preserving the genealogies.

the genealogies and dynastic accounts prevalent among the *sūtas* and *māgadhas* of old has not been given up in later times. The practice of recording events is found to be surviving in the 'Bākhar' of Mahārāṣṭra, 'Burañji' of Assam and 'Mādlāpānji' of Orissa. The bhāṭs of Rajputana look upon themselves as the descendents of Māgadha brāhmaṇas. Cānd-kavi the author of the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* was a *bhāṭ* and his descendants are still alive. The *Varotras* of Rajputana can furnish genealogies of kings even 1500 years old. The *Cāraṇas* constitute a distinct caste and make themselves known as descendants of the *Siddha-Cāraṇas* of the *Purāṇas*. Their zeal expresses itself more in the preservation of descriptions of warfare than of genealogies. The *Sūrya Prakāś* containing an account of the Rathors is the outcome of their labours. The *Vīr-vinod* is another work of the kind. It has been printed but has not been allowed to be published by the Rana of Udaipur. After the publication of Todd's *Rājasthān*, the principal *Cāraṇas* of Bundi wrote a treatise named *Vaṃśabhāskara*, containing the accounts of the 'Hārā Chauhan' kings of Bundi together with the other kings of Rājputana. *Khet*, *Vāt*, *Gap* and *Dantakathā* are the four types of historical narratives that are composed in Rājputana. Of these

Khet alone is history proper. There were in the past *bhāṭs* in Bengal, but now they do not exist.

Scholars up till recently used to set no value by the chronology found in the *purāṇas*. But with the intensive study of the works, the significance of chronology is unfolding itself. According to Mr. Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 176) the conception of different ages, as found in the treatises, probably took its origin in the political cataclysms that took place at different times. The *tretā* age, for instance, was ushered by the cataclysm that was caused by Rāma Jāmadagnya by the wholesale massacre of the kṣattriyas ; the bloody battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa marked the commencement of the *dvāpara* age ; while the disappearance of Śrīkṛṣṇa after the great battle of Kurukṣetra introduced the Kali age. Mr. Kasiprasad Jayaswal (J. B. O. R. S., vol. III) has recently dealt with the date of the Kurukṣetra battle and the beginning of the Kali age. In several places in the *purāṇas*, reckonings of time have been made according to the *saptarṣi* cycle. The duration of stay of the *saptarṣi maṇḍala* (the Great Bear) in each of the 27 lunar mansions (nakṣatra) is 100 years ; hence the *sapatrṣi* cycle is completed in 2700 years. Mr. Jayaswal is of opinion that the *saptarṣi* cycle begins in the lunar mansion called *kṛttikā*. It appears from the *purāṇas* that when the Great Bear stayed in the lunar mansion called *maghā*, or in other words, in the 8th centenary from the *kṛttikā*, Parīkṣit ascended the throne and the Kali age commenced. Then in the *pūrvāṣāḍhā* of the 18th centenary, Nanda was on the throne. Then in the 24th centenary, the Andhra dynasty came to a close and the post-Andhra period ended in the 27th centenary. It is mentioned in the *purāṇas* that the interval between the coronation of Parīkṣit and that of Mahāpadma is 1050 years and that between Mahāpadma and the end of the post-Andhra period is 836 years. This shows that the two modes of calculation yield the same result.

The historicity of the Paurāṇika kings and attempts to fix their dates.

Now from other evidences we know that Mahāpadma ruled in the 4th century B.C.; hence the coronation of Parīkṣit and the beginning of the Kali age took place 1000 years previously i.e. in the 14th century B.C. Mr. Jayaswal has proved on the basis of ślokas from the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* that the end of the Kali age should have taken place 1200 years afterwards with the fall of the Yavana (Greek) kingdom. But probably in later times, this period was regarded as too short and hence was transformed into one of divine years (1200 × 360 = 420,000) instead of human. It has already been stated that the interval between Mahāpadma and the end of the post-Andhra period is

836 years i.e. 498 A.D. This corresponds to the 27th centenary of the *sapatrṣi* cycle. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that perhaps the mathematicians of later times knew this and also the fact that Mahāpadma ruled in the 18th centenary of the *saptarṣi* cycle. Now by counting back 900 years from 498 A.D. they reached 402 B. C. and thence by going back the period of one *sapatrṣi* cycle i.e. 2700 years, they reached 3102 B.C. as the beginning of the Kali age. This shows that in the reckoning of times, as given in the *purāṇas*, there is no inconsistency at least up to the battle of Kurukṣetra.

According to Mr. Pargiter (op. cit., p. 180), the small number of kings who reigned in the interval between Parīkṣit and Mahāpadma could not have reigned so long as 1050 years. Hence the statement of the *purāṇas* regarding the periods for the reigns of those kings is not worthy of credence. He has roughly calculated the interval as (26 × 18 =)468 years taking the reign of each of the kings as 18 years and has determined the date of the Kurukṣetra battle to be anterior to it by 900 years ; hence in his opinion the date of the battle is 500 years before Mahāpadma of the 9th century B.C.

But to my mind Mr. Jayaswal's view appears to be sound. He has come to the same conclusion by the two modes of calculation viz. the reckoning of time by the *sapatrṣi* cycle, and the calculation according to the references in the *purāṇas* to the intervals between the reigns of particular kings. It may not be possible for the number of kings mentioned in the *purāṇas* to have reigned for the periods as specified in them but Mr. Pargiter (op. cit., p. 189) has himself stated that the *purāṇas* in many places have mentioned only the principal kings omitting the unimportant.

The publication of several works containing the results of investigations by scholars for the last few years has raised a number of points for our consideration. Full deliberations on these points are expected to throw new light upon a number of topics about which our knowledge is meagre or nil. The accuracy of a few historical conclusions believed to be correct for the last 20 or 25 years is being questioned at present in the light of new evidences. Kurupañcāla in northwestern India has been hitherto regarded as the place where Vedic civilization, learning, and culture centred, but at present we have been receiving evidences which make it probable that eastern India did not also lag behind Kuru-pañcāla as a seat of Vedic civilization and culture. Hence the collection of further evidence is necessary to further elucidate this point. Investigations are necessary on the relations between the Aryans and the non-Aryans and between the different sections of the Aryans, as also on the way in which the Aryans overcame the non-Aryans and the extent to which the customs and practices of the two peoples influenced each other. Scholars ought also to try to throw light on the extent to which, and the means by which, the various Vedic *caraṇas* preserved and propagated Vedic culture; on the distinctive nature of the religious and philosophical views of renowned scholars of Vedic times like Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya and the extent to which they influenced the views of their contemporaries. Instances of topics like these, on which further enquiries are needed, may be multiplied, but those that have been mentioned are sufficient for the present purpose.

The method of writing history of Indian religions.

The way, in which the historical accounts of Indian religions is written, leaves much to be desired. Scholars while writing them direct their attention to the outer elements of the religions and not to *sādhana* which forms their essence. The result is that anything in the religions appearing as impossible to the scholars according to their sense of the normal, or their knowledge of the physical laws is forthwith rejected. This has introduced a gap between the exterior of the religions and their essence; and the latter, which depends for its importance upon its vital connection with the former, appears as of little worth, because the value of the basal factor is not understood.

Generally speaking, the large amount of attention that was paid to spiritual culture in ancient India is not given to it at present. Moreover, the Europeans are still on the fringe area in the domain of spiritual culture, but the method which they have introduced in the writing of the historical accounts of Indian religions is being followed by all. Hence two forces are operating in the composition of the said accounts of the religions of our country, viz. want of insight into spiritual culture, without which only a very small portion of the Indian religions becomes intelligible ; and the consequent want of belief in the greater portion of these religions. The accounts thus composed are getting currency in all the countries of the world and are being accepted as containing correct information about the religions, though as a matter of fact, they present but a wrong view thereof. If we desire to know something falling within the purview of a particular physical science, we are not satisfied until we know it from one who has special knowledge of that science. But it is a matter for surprise that when historical writers have to handle a religion while writing histories they become satisfied with drawing upon their own unaided inference, or with information from people ignorant of its inmost essential elements or not aware of their significance through first-hand experience. There are in our Vedas and

Purāṇas and other sacred scriptures many matters which can be fully understood only in the light of spiritual culture, for want of which they appear to the European scholars or to their European or other disciples superstition or jargon. India is suffering much harm on account of the prevalence of this mode of interpreting its religions. Hence it is necessary that historical accounts of the religions should be composed by those who utilize information from the *sādhakas* and realize the significance of the inmost essential details as also their connection with the outer elements.

II

Buddhism exercised a great influence over the people of India for more than one thousand years. It has also left many traces of its widespread existence in Bengal. The religion that helped the development of arts, literature, and society in India for several centuries from Aśoka should receive due attention in a discourse on Indian history. For this reason, I wish to speak a few words on Indian Buddhism.

The history of Indian Buddhism comprises at present a running account of Buddhism from its origin to Aśoka, and the more or less detached accounts of *mahāyāna*, *mantra-yāna*, *kālacakra-*

The extant accounts of Indian Buddhism are incomplete and detached.

yāna, etc., from after the time of Kaniṣka. During the fifteen hundred years of its stay in this country, the large number of forms through which it passed astonishes an on-looker. In many cases, the changed form of the religion has no resemblance to its ancient original other than the name borne by them in common. Hence behind the expression Indian Buddhism stands a diversity of its forms, the confusion of which may be avoided by specifying the different periods of their existence. Moreover, it must not be thought that in a particular century, Buddhism of a particular form existed in a particular locality. A glance at Yuan Chwang's treatise can show that several Buddhist sects with their different views of the original religion were found simultaneously at the same locality; hence a comprehensive history of Buddhism should allot a separate place to the treatment of these sects, and no history of the religion can be complete without the account of the sects. It will take a long time yet to collect the materials for such history. So I am submitting some suggestions for the composition of the detached portions of the comprehensive history.

Buddhist sects.

The researches that have been made on Hīnayāna Buddhism are principally based upon the literature of only one of its eighteen schools, viz. *Sthavira* or *Thera-vāda.* Though it is a fact that the Sthaviravādins were not small in number and came to the forefront under the patronage of Asoka, yet it should be borne in mind that the school called *Sarvāstivāda* attained superiority in respect of *number of followers* and *influence* for three or four centuries from a time a little anterior to the reign of Kaniṣka. According to Yuan Chwang's estimate the Sāṃmitīyas reached in his time the front rank in regard to the number of adherents. The importance of the Mahāsāṅghikas lay not in number of followers but in their being the parent of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Researches have not been made on the whole of Hīnayāna Buddhism. What has been done relates to *Sthavira-vāda.*

Three principal schools of Buddhism other than Sthaviravāda.

The reason why a large portion of the literature of the Sthaviravādins has come down to us is that at the time of the general destruction of Buddhist literature, it was preserved in Ceylon and Burma in the language in which it existed originally. The European scholars headed by Prof. Rhys Davids have directed their enterprise to the publication of the treatises of this literature of the

Two causes for researches being confined to Sthaviravāda: (1) Its literature in Pāli has been preserved; (2) the labours of the Pāli Text Society.

Sthaviravādins. The result has been that researches have been carried on through this section of Buddhist literature and not through the literature of all the schools of Buddhism. Very often we regard the results of investigations on the basis of but a section of Buddhist literature embodying only a particular set of facts and doctrines as applicable to Buddhism as a whole. But, as has been stated already, the three other schools of Buddhism out of the eighteen attained in various places much influence and prominence lasting for several centuries. Though all of them belong to Hīnayāna, their beliefs and philosophical doctrines were different and there is evidence to show that at least the three schools mentioned above besides the Sthaviravāda had each a literature of its own. Recently the attention of scholars has been drawn to the differences among the schools of Buddhism. The excavations in Khotan and Central Asia have brought to light fragments of ancient manuscripts corroborating the view stated above. Moreover it is found from the collections of manuscripts taken to China by the Chinese travellers and translated into their mother-tongue that they could procure treatises belonging to the literatures of the principal schools of Buddhism. It

Differences among the schools of Buddhism.

Each of the principal schools had its literature. The abhidhamma literatures of two of them cited by way of illustration.

The works throwing light on the differences of doctrines and history of the schools of Buddhism.

may be pointed out by way of illustration that the names and contents of the treatises belonging to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka of the Sthaviravādins differ altogether from the corresponding treatises of the Sarvāstivādins. The name of the former are: (1) *Dhammasaṅganī*, (2) *Vibhaṅga*, (3) *Dhātukathā*, (4) *Puggalapaññatti*, (5) *Kathāvatthu*, (6) *Yamaka*, and (7) *Paṭṭhana*; while those of the Sarvāstivādins are: (1) *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* and its six supplements (2) *Saṅgīta-paryāya*, (3) *Prakarṇapāda*, (4) *Vijñanakāya*, (5) *Dhātukāya*, (6) *Dharmaskandha*, and (7) *Prajñāptisāra*. There are hints in the accounts of the travels of the Chinese travellers that the Sāṃmitīyas and Mahāsāṅghikas had different Abhidhamma literatures with distinctive features of each; but manuscript copies of Abhidhamma treatises of these two schools have not yet been discovered. In addition to this there were differences among the said four schools in regard to *Vinaya* and *Sūtra Piṭakas*. We learn from Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* that these schools had separate *Vinayas*. Dr. Oldenberg's introduction to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and Csoma Körösi's analysis of the Tibetan *Vinaya* (*Dulva*) [*Asiatic Researches*, xx] also throw some light on this point. Regarding differences of doctrines, the works of Bhavya, Vinītadeva, and Vasumitra, the *Kathāvatthu*, and the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* can supply information. They differed a good deal in their philosophical doctrines, so much so that the Sāṃmitīyas admitted even the existence of soul. Unless and until we can make available for general use the manuscripts of the schools translated into Chinese and Tibetan and preserved in China and Tibet, it is impossible to draw a complete picture of Buddhism.

The extent to which countries outside India where Buddhism prevailed can help the compilation of materials for the history of India Buddhism.

The help that can be obtained from the countries which adopted one or more schools of Buddhism at some time or other should also be taken into consideration in this connection. When the missionary activities of the Buddhists were carried outside India, the school of Buddhism which happend to be the most prominent at a particular time sent its missionaries for propagating it in other countries. The people of the country where they went looked upon the form of Buddhism preached by them as the original form of the religion and adopted it zealously preserving its literature and doctrines. As an illustration, I mention first the Sinhalese. At the time when the Sthaviravāda reached the acme of its influence, Ceylon was converted and and as the result of this conversion, the literature of this school has been preserved in that country.

Similarly, when under the patronage of Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivāda became the most powerful, the people of Khotan and Central Asia were converted to Buddhism ; for this reason, the fragments of manuscripts discovered in course of excavation in those places belong mostly to the Sarvāstivādins. The case of the Sāṃmitīya is also similar ; though no manuscripts (or their fragments) of this school have yet been discovered, the people of Campā, so far as has been ascertained, were first converted to Buddhism by the missionary efforts of Sāṃmitīya preachers. Harṣavardhana, and his brother and sister were patrons of this school.

The Sāṃmitīyas.

We learn from Yuan Chwang that it prevailed in Western India with Valabhi as its principal centre. This school had some affinity with brāhmaṇism. As stated already, it admitted the existence of soul ; and as Yuan Chwang points out, the Sāṃmitīyas were invariably seen side by side with the Śaivas and Pāśupatas wherever the latter had their centres. Brāhmaṇism, specially in its Śaiva cult, had a large currency in Campā. The inscriptions of the place show that the form of Buddhism that prevailed there was an admixture of Mahāyānism and Śaivism. In 605 A. D. the Chinese took away to their country 1350 Buddhist manuscripts from Campā (*Chinese Annals*, as quoted in Eliot's *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*, III, p. 148). All these give rise to the impression that if we get full information about the Buddhism at Campā, we shall be able to have some light on the history of the Sāṃmitīyas. Yuan Chwang carried to China several of their works and had them translated into Chinese, but Nanjio's *Catalogue* mentions only their *Vinaya Piṭaka.* The Mahāyānism has borrowed much from the Sāṃmitīya school. According to Yuan Chwang many Sāṃmitīya monks lived in Bengal.

The Mahāsaṅghikas.

It has not yet been ascertained when and in which part of India, the Mahāsaṅghika school rose into prominence. But probably it flourished in Southern India ; for the Buddhist inscriptions found at Amarāvatī, Karle, etc., show that the sub-schools arising out of the Mahāsaṅghika school had their patrons in Southern India. The history of the Mahāsaṅghikas is very important in view of the fact that they were the first to worship Buddha as a deity and admitted the *dhāraṇīs* into the Piṭaka. To trace the evolution of Mahāyānism it is essential that we should have full information about the gradual development of the doctrines of this school and the way in which brāhmaṇism exercised its influence over it. Nanjio's *Catalouge* does not mention any scriptures of the Mahāsaṅghikas except the *Vinaya*, but Yuan Chwang carried from India to China fifteen of their works. Probably those works are still in China but they have not been specified in any catalogue. It is now our duty to find them out and utilize the materials contained in them, as without it we cannot expect to have a history of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

The Sarvāstivādins.

I have not much to say about the Sarvāstivādins; for scholars have realized the importance of a connected history of this school. One or two of them such as Mr. Yamakami Sogen and Mr. Takakusu have already written on the subject. I may mention that information about the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins is very important for the early history of Buddhism, for the school makes with Sthavirvāda the nearest approach to the original form of Buddhism as preached and practised by Buddha. But while Sthaviravāda took to Ceylon as its principal shelter sometime after Asoka, and its importance lessened in India, the Sarvāstivāda was on the ascendant and became the most popular school in India by the time of Kaniṣka retaining this position for three or four centuries later. The literature it has left is not, in the present state of our knowledge, very small in volume. What is most needed now is to have scholars who will study this literature and present before the world the information that is now concealed from its sight.

The chronological order of the different portions of the piṭaka has not yet been satisfactorily settled. The attempts of Prof. Winternitz in

Want of indication of chronological strata in the Pāli literature (of the Sthaviravādins).

this direction have raised points which should be carefully examined before they can be accepted as final. A principal means of ascertaining the chronological order of the Pāli literature is, I think, to make a comparative study with the literature of the other Buddhist schools.

The importance of the study of the Abhidhamma.

The researches that have hitherto been made in Pāli Abhidhamma are very scanty. The publication of a critical edition of the whole of the text of the Abhidhamma has been finished and the commentaries on some of the treatises included in it have also been published. The writings of Mrs. Rhys Davids and a few other European scholars cover only a very small portion of the subject. Unfortunately no Indian scholar has yet taken it up for special study, but the Burmese scholars Maung Shwe Zan Aung and Maung Tin are labouring hard in this field of investigations. There are two obstacles to the prosecution of researches on Abhidhamma *viz.* (i) a full knowledge of the Abhidhamma is now possessed only by a few Burmese bhikkhus whose tendency is to keep it confined to themselves; (ii) the text of the Pāli Abhidhamma and its commentary are not sufficient for elucidating the abstruse points discussed in the text. The Burmese bhikkhus have specialised in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka for centuries, and even now, according to the time-honoured practice, they hold classes at night for teaching their pupils the subject. Without their help it is impossible to master the subject. It is necessary also to learn Burmese, for the Burmese scholars have written on it many *Lethans* (little-finger manuals) and *Nissayas* (Burmese translations) with explanatory comments. We learn from Maung Shwe Zan Aung that there are 22 Burmese translations of the *Dhammasaṅganī.* Many distinguished commentators of the districts of Ava and Sagaing have written commentaries on the Abhidhamma between 1600 and 1650 A.D. These works can give us an idea of the extent to which the Indian Buddhists advanced in psychological analysis. Abhidhamma occupies a very important place in Buddhism. Without a study of the Abhidhamma it is impossible to understand the way in which mental faculties undergo a change by the practice of *yoga* according to the Buddhist method.

Besides the Abhidhammas there are in Pāli many works of which we are utterly ignorant. There were composed in Ceylon and Burma in later times many Pāli works names of which are given in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (i.e. Granthavaṃśa) and Mrs. Mabel Bode's *Pāli Literature in Burma.* As the said works are not included in the Piṭaka, they have not attracted our attention.

A study of these works is likely to yield much new information about Buddhism.

The period from Asoka to Nāgārjuna (2nd C., A. D.) covering four centuries may be said to be the time when Hīnayāna was at the height of its prosperity. After this the Mahāyāna was on the ascendant, gradually weakening the Hīnayāna in India, and attaining a position of influence in other countries. For about a thousand years, the superiority of the Mahāyāna remained unabated in India, Tibet, China etc.

The cause for scanty researches on Mahāyāna.

The researches on Mahāyāna have up till now been scanty in proportion to its great importance. Comparatively, Hīnayāna has received much greater attention. Its principal cause is, as stated already, the publication of the many Hīnayāna books by the Pāli Text Society, while a very small number of Mahāyāna books has been put in print. There are many, who are eager to know the line of evolution of the Mahāyāna. Though in a general way it is known that it had its origin in the doctrines of the Mahāsāṅghikas, it is necessary to trace its growth through Caityavāda, Lokottaravāda of later times. Only two or three works included in the *Mahāvaipulyasūtra* are published, while the rest are still in manuscript; and for this reason our knowledge of the latter is still meagre.

It was Aśvaghoṣa who first gave an exposition

The philosophical schools of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.

of the doctrines of Mahāyāna in the *Śraddhotpāda Sūtra* (*The Awakening of Faith* translated from Chinese by Mr. T. Suzuki) and other works. A short time after it came to be counted as the most prominent religion in India, Nāgārjuna by his interpretation of the philosophy involved in this religion originated the Mādhyamika branch and Asaṅga the Yogācāra. Each of these two schools of philosophy possesses a fairly large literature comprising books written by the said two authors as also by other distinguised Buddhist paṇḍits. Names of these books are found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, Nanjio's *Catalogue*, etc. Many of these books have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations while a few exist in Sanskrit originals. These works can supply materials for a detailed history of the Mahāyāna.

The extent to which India is indebted to China for preserving Mahāyāna works.

The epoch of the prosperity of Mahāyāna is from the 2nd century A.D., for it was from that period that Indian savants devoted their whole attention to the practice of Mahāyāna, the study of its philosophy attracting the attention of China, Tibet etc. to what they did. Though the religion had been introduced into China before the 2nd c., A.D., yet it was from that period that the zeal of the Chinese for the religion and its philosophy was fully roused. As the result of this eagerness for Buddhisn, the Chinese took away from India copies of all the Buddhist manuscripts which they considered as valuable and translated them into Chinese. These included a number of books relating to other forms of Buddhism, though their special attention was directed to Mahāyāna. It is remarked by Mr. Suzuki in his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* that the analysis of the Chinese translations is extremely necessary, for it will throw light not only on the history of Buddhism but also upon Hinduism.

Though Hīnayāna was weakened by Mahāyāna, it did not die out in India. Buddhism then flowed in two streams, one Mahāyāna with its two branches Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, and the other Hīnayāna with its two branches Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika. Of the eighteen schools of Buddhism mentioned previously, some were alive at the time, and among them Sarvāstivāda became known as Vaibhāṣika and the amalgamation of a few of the rest became known as the Sautrāntika. The philosophies of these four branches became the subject-matter of frequent disputations among the learned men and each of the philosophies came to have many books written on it. Though Vaibhāṣika and Mādhyamika have received some attention at the present day, the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra have been neglected.

Place of *Yoga* in Buddhism.

That *Yoga* occupied an important place in Buddhism would, I think, be admitted on all hands. It is the opinion of some European scholars that the Pāli works contain nothing but moral teachings. A glance at only the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* is sufficient to show that the Buddhists used to practise *yoga* to a very large extent. The Buddhist literature is replete with references to *dhyāna* and *samādhi*. There were, according to the Buddhists, two ways to *Nirvāṇa*. One called *granthadhūra i.e.* study of the piṭaka and preaching the religion, and the other called *vipassanadhūra* or practice of *dhyāna*. Those, who took to the latter method, had to practise *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, *samādhi* etc., from the beginning. The eight *samāpattis* of the Hīnayānists and the ten *bhūmis* of the Mahāyānists all point to the practice of *yoga*. All sections of Buddhists used to hold *yoga* with great reverence and many books were written on the subject. An exposition of *yoga* forms the subject-matter of the greater portion of the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa. There are also other books in Burma and Ceylon. We can have an idea of the *yoga* according to Hīnayāna from the *Yogāvacara's Manual* compiled in Ceylon, and Maung Shwe Zan Aung's introduction to his English translation of the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*. It is needless to mention that the Mahāyānists also devoted a good deal of attention to *yoga* and references to it are found in almost all their books; moreover the *Daśabhūmīśvara* belonging to the *Navadharmas* is an extensive work on the subject and there is another work caller *Samādhirāja Sūtra* belonging to the Hodgson collection. A branch of the Mahāyānists was called *Yogācāra* because it laid the greatest stress upon *yoga*. The erudite Asaṅga, the author of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* belonged to this sect. Nanjio's *Catalogue* names two books in Chinese translations treating of *yoga*. (Mss. Nos. 1510, 1515).

There is much in common between Buddhism and Hinduism regarding the rules, technical terms, mental states, and other matters relating to *yoga*. Members of many branches of Hinduism still practise *yoga*. There is no paucity of Buddhist books on *yoga* but the subject has not received much attention. The mere study of books is not sufficient to give an insight into *yoga* for there are many matters which are being handed down from teachers to pupils generation after generation and are not known to the uninitiated.

While on this subject, we should mention a branch of Mahāyānism that very probably had its rise in later times in Southern India. To the members of this sect *yoga* was the only path to Nirvāṇa. The 28th patriarch of this sect named

The Dhyānī sect.

Bodhidharma went from India to China where he started the Tien-tai sect. Though he had to meet with many difficulties, he was successful in giving the sect a permanent footing in China. In course of time, its doctrines were widely accepted in China as also in Japan. The literature of the sect furnishes us, according to its conception, with an account of the patriarchal succession of the Buddhist order in India down to the time of emergence of the sect. The accounts of the patriarchs are found in the following manuscripts of Nanjio's *Catalogue*, viz. 1340, 1524, 1526, 1529, 1658, 1659. In the manuscript mentioned first, accounts of 23 patriarchs from Mahākassapa to Bhikṣusiṃha are found. The mention of the series of principal teachers seems to favour the inference that many secrets about *yoga* have been handed down in the sect from generation to generation of teachers and pupils. An account of this sect forms an important chapter in the history of Buddhism. The Tantric Buddhists also give an important place to *yoga* but they have not in many cases maintained the purity of the old Buddhist *yoga* practices.

III

It is not a fact that the ancient Indians never went outside India for conquests; but these conquests were without bloodshed. They went to foreign lands to preach religion, which served to enhance the glory of India. The missionaries sent by Asoka to the various countries in the world to establish the empire of righteousness will ever be remembered with reverence by all Indians. But he was but a pioneer in the field and the activities which he started were carried on with zeal by the post-Asokan Buddhists. Hence, when we speak of Indian history we cannot confine our attention to India only but must take into account the greater India that came into being in this way. We shall have to find out how the ancient Indians carried their civilization and culture to other countries and by inoculating them with the spirit of Indian culture and civilization made them Indian in thought and practice though not in name. We want to know in connection with our investigation regarding Indian history what the Kuṣānas did in India, but we ought to carry on investigations at the same time what the Indians did in the land of the Kuṣānas. This applies not only to Central Asia, the home, of the Kuṣānas but also to China, Java, Cambodia, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, etc. If we get details relating to the histories of these colonies, we are sure to have light on the nature of culture and civilization of the people of the portion of India whence

The history of the Indian colonies can throw light on the history of India.

civilization and culture were transported to the colonies. Sir Charles Eliot in the third volume of his *Hinduism and Buddhism* has collected much information on the subject and has referred to many books and articles in German, French, Dutch, and Russian relating thereto. From the time of Asoka, attempts were made by the Indians to colonise Gāndhāra and Central Asia. As the result of these attempts, Buddhism was fully established there in the 1st century A.D.

Buddhism in Central Asia.

At the time when Buddhism was taken to Central Asia, the Sarvāstivāda was the most powerful school in Kāśmīr and N. W. Frontier; hence this form of Buddhism came to be established in Central Asia. There are evidences of the existence of Mahāyānism in Khotan, from which the scholars infer that two forms of Buddhism found entrance into Central Asia, the earlier being Sarvāstivāda and the later Mahāyāna. The labours of Profs. Le Coq, Sylvain Lévi, Grünwedel, Drs. Stein, Hoernle etc. in Central Asia have brought to light many manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts, images of gods and goddesses, stūpas etc. which corroborate the view about the prevalence of the Sarvāstivāda in the place. From the manuscripts found there it can now be stated without any shade of doubt that the Piṭaka was written not only in Pāli but also in

Sanskrit, and the Chinese took away the Sanskrit Piṭaka and translated it into their mother tongue. They could procure only a few Pāli books. If we can have the history of Central Asia, we shall be able to have information as to the religious beliefs and practices, the culture and civilization, of the people of north-western India in the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

The help that can be expected of China in the acquisition of further materals for Indian history.

It has already been stated that in order to have more light on Mahāyāna Buddhism, we shall have to use the Buddhist literature preserved in China; for when Mahāyāna Buddhism rose to prominence in India, a close connection was established between it and China, and many Indian paṇḍits were with great reverence taken by the Chinese emperor to translate Buddhist Sanskrit treatises. Indication of the great reverence with which the Chinese used to look upon the paṇḍits is found in some of the manuscripts. Nanjio's *Catalogue* mention three manuscripts numbered 1690, 1493 and 1495. The first written in 519 A.D. gives short biographies of 257 bhikkhus and incidentally names of 239 other bhikkhus. These bhikkhus fixed their abode in China from 67 to 519 A.D. The second manuscript has biographies of 331 bhikkhus and incidentally names of 360 other bhikkhus. They adopted China as their domicile from 519 to 645 A.D. The third manuscript is a supplement to the second containing some additional names. As on the one hand, the Chinese took many learned men from India to their country, they on the other hand sent many Chinese paṇḍits to India. In 692 A.D. I-tsing sent to China a manuscript (Nanjio's *Catalogue* Ms. No. 1491) containing biographies of Chinese bhikkhus who were sent out to India for religious education. After their return to their mother country, many of them wrote accounts of their travels. In this connection, I may mention two works relating to the history of Buddhism, viz. *History of the Śākyas* (Nanjio, Ms. No. 1468), and *Collection of Accounts of Buddhism* (Nanjio, 1479 and 1481).

The relation of Indian Buddhism to Buddhism in Java and Cambodia.

It has not yet been determined when the Hindu and Buddhist colonies were planted in Java and Cambodia. It is the opinion of some scholars that when the Buddhists were persecuted in India, they took shelter in those countries. Some others are of opinion that the Hindus and Buddhists went simultaneously to those places to preach Hinduism and Buddhism; while the rest hold the view that the Indians used to go there either for conquest or for the purposes of trade, and in course of time many of them settled there. Whether any of these three opinions or all of them are right has not yet been decided. It has, however, been found that both Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism existed side by side in Java and Cambodia from the 4th or 5th century A.D. to the 13th century and between them there was no marked hostility. For when Mahāyānism was introduced in the said places from Southern India, it was at the height of its splendour and *rapproachement* had been taking place between this form of Buddhism and Hinduism by the former borrowing from the latter ceremonial worship, *bhakti etc.* Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were at that time gradually rising into power and their doctrines were carried to Java and Cambodia side by side with Buddhism. A detailed account of Buddhism in Southern India is yet to be written. The highly embellished and costly stūpas at Amarāvatī and Karle lead us to think that Buddhism established itself in several places in Southern India. From the commentary on *Kathāvatthu* and other Pāli works we learn that a few Buddhist sects were called *Andhakas* i.e. belonging to the Andhra country. The Amarāvatī stūpa mentions the local Buddhist sects of Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila. The renowned Buddhist scholars Āryadeva, Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla (commentator on Pāli books) etc. belonged to Southern India. These evidences show that the history of South Indian Buddhism is important enough to receive a separate treatment. The

Tamil works *Maṇimekhala*, *Śilappadhikāram*, *Kuṇḍalakesī*, and *Nīlakesīteruṭṭu* can furnish materials about Buddhism in Southern India (*Ind. Ant.* vol. 37). Such Tamil works ought to be ransacked for yielding information.

A detailed knowledge of the form of Buddhism prevailing in Nepal and Tibet is very valuable; for it is calculated to help the understanding of the intricacies of Indian Buddhism and illumine some of the dark spaces in its history. Not a single manuscript relating to Mahāyānism has yet been discovered in India, so thorough was the way in which Buddhism was driven out of the country and the Buddhist literature destroyed mostly by the Muhammadans. The portion of the literature that has been taken to Nepal was saved. Buddhism has disappeared in India partly through persecutions by the people of other faiths and partly through its absorption by Hindusim and other religions. We still find Buddhism exsiting in the rites and ceremonies of Hinduism in a disguised form. Very probably, Buddhism commenced to be introduced in Nepal in the time of Asoka, but it could not establish a complete sway in that country because there were also the indigenous faith and brāhmaṇism flourishing side by side. A glance at the catalogues of Buddhist manuscripts by Dr. Ralendra Lal Mitra and Mahāmahopādhyāya

Nepal.

Haraprasād Śāstrī gives an idea of the number and value of the manuscripts found in Nepal.

Tibet.

Now as to Tibet. The nature of the indebtedness of India to Tibet is different from that to Nepal. Though it is a neighbouring country, Buddhism reached it comparatively later. It obtained a footing in Tibet with the help of the Chinese and Nepalese queens of Srong btsan Gam Po; but at the time of its introduction, the Mahāyānism of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and Asaṅga, developed the offshoots like Mantrayāna and Kālacakrayāna. It was these offshoots that were transplanted to Tibet and gave rise to Tibetan Buddhism. Tibet therefore is likely to furnish us with evidences as to the nature of Buddhism prevailing in India from the 7th century downwards. The Tibetans like the Chinese Buddhists showed a great zeal in translating the scriptures procured from India. They also used to send Tibetan scholars to study Buddhism in India and took to their country Indian paṇḍits. A peculiarity of the translations made by them is that they are very literal, so much so that a great portion of the Sanskrit originals can be restored through their translations. Moreover, the translations are faithful to the originals, and to maintain this faithfulness and accuracy they compiled a Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary. This dictionary is now furnishing keys to the explanation of many Tibetan words in the course of study of Tibetan books. When Padmasambhava or Padmākara a follower of the Tantrayāna was the head of the Tibetan order of monks (747 A. D.), the activities of the Tibetans in this direction were extremely brisk. The collection of Buddhist manuscripts made by the Tibetans was not inferior to that made by the Chinese. The difference lay in the greater attention paid by the former to Mahāyāna Tantras. They also translated Hīnaayāna works but their number in comparision with that of Mahāyāna and Tāntric works was very small. (*Asiatic Researches* vol. xx ; P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain*, 2 vols.).

Many Buddhist scholars of Bengal went to Tibet to preach Buddhism in the period from the 8th to the 12th century A.D., and translated there many Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan. This was the time of prosperity of the Buddhist Tāntrikism, and for this reason, many tantras were taken to Tibet. To understand fully the Buddhist tantras and the state of Tāntrik faith in Bengal at that time, the study of the tantras preserved in Tibetan is essential. The Buddhist Tāntrik cults of Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Sahajayāna etc. established their sway in Bengal about this period. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī has made researches on this subject and edited and published an old manuscript entitled *Bauddha*

Gāna O Donhā relating to Bengal Buddhism. He has recently procured from Nepal twenty small manuscripts by Advayavajra. They are arranged in such a way that they give a clear idea of the history of the faiths of Bengali Buddhists. Mr. Nagendranātha Basu, Prācyavidyāmahārṇava, has written two books containing information about Bengal Buddhism in its last stages.

The Chinese travellers saw in Bengal many Buddhist monasteries accommodating hundreds of monks. Yuan Chwang states that besides Buddhism, there were in Bengal various sects of Hinduism. Though a superficial view of Tāntrikism may give an unfavourable impression of same, it has in it several good elements. The method that is being followed by 'Arthur Avalon' for explaining the inner meaning of the Tantras and making it widely known is sure to achieve the objects that have been kept in view and popularize the knowledge of the Tantras. Scholars have specified many causes for the disappearance of Buddhism in India. The abuses of Buddhist Tāntrikism are regarded as one of them; want of patronage of the local chiefs, the persecutions by the followers of other faiths etc. are also considered to be among the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism. Intensive researches into the forces that brought about the extinction of Buddhism in this country are necessary. Though the religion has ceased to exist here outwardly, it has been still living concealed in several other faiths, such as the *Sahajiyā*, *Dharma*, and other sects. Evidences of this are found in the *Dharmamaṅgala*, *Gambhīrā* songs etc. of early Bengali literature. An investigation into the old literature of Bengal relating to this subject is expected to yield much new materials for making up the history of Bengal Buddhism. Information for making up the history of the last stages of Indian Buddhism will be found more in Bengal than in any other province, and when the information is fully collected, it will reveal the forces that served to bring about the extinction of Buddhism in India. Just as the Pāli literature furnishes materials for the early history of Buddhism, and the Buddhist Sanskrit literature for the intermediate portions of its history, so the early Bengali literature is calculated to supply materials for the history of its last stages.

Bengal and the history of Buddhism.

IV

It has been already stated that we should try our best to train the people of this country in the use of the latest scientific method of writing histories. The foreign writers while writing Indian history have fallen into errors in many places by reason of their failure to enter into the spirit of the Indians and look at things from the Indian standpoint. The number of such errors is not so large as it used to be at the time when they first undertook to study Indian literature, philosophy, and history, and write on those subjects. A passage from an article in the *Calcutta Review* of 1916 (p. 18) by Mr. J. C. Mathew M. A. will illustrate my point. He writes, "The Śākyas (as shown by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita*) were also called Ikṣvākus which means 'sugarcane'. It is perhaps no more than juggling with words to say that the Calami—the Cane people of Josephus are the same as the Śākyas and that therefore the pious Jew of Aristotle was a Buddhist." The word 'Ikṣvāku' has led Mr. Mathew to think that it is sugar-cane (*ikṣu*) and the premise of the next conclusion drawn by him is based upon this error. Such blemishes are not so harmful as those shown by the great Baṅkimcandra in the first few chapters of his *Kṛṣṇacarita* as occurring in the writings of a few European authors like Weber. To try, as far as possible, to prove as comparatively later the ancient civilization of this country, to attempt to explain away its glorious past as born of mere imagination, and to wield the pen with a questionable motive to cast doubts upon facts and

Indians should take to writing Indian history on scientific lines.

events which constitute an object of pride to the Indians are not proper. Such writings are great hindrances to the acquisition of the right knowledge upon which to base the history of our country. On many occasions the European writers, as the result of their natural tendencies, cannot maintain the proper proportion in the dimensions of the various chapters of the histories of India written by them. The invasion of Alexander is given a large space in the history while that given to the glorious achievements of Asoka is much shorter. Lt. Col. L. A. Waddell has, by his curious arguments, tried to establish in his article in the *Asiatic Review* (1916) that the Sanskrit language, even the Vedic Sanskrit, did not exist before the 2nd century A.D. He has also written similar articles elsewhere trying to prove this theme. He has quoted from the '*Introduction to the Science of Language*' (p. 172) of Prof. Sayce to support his inference that by examining the structure of Greek and Sanskrit, the former appears to be older than the latter. To remedy these deficiences of foreign writers, it is necessary that the Indians in large numbers should master the scientific method of writing history. They should on their part try their utmost not to be partial to their mother country while handling the historical evidences. It is a welcome change that many Indians have been directing their attention to Indian history. So far as

Bengal is concerned, many accounts of particular localities and districts have been written containing information that is not to be found in the *District Gazeteers.* Though several of them leave much to be desired so far as scientific method of treatment is concerned, yet there is no doubt that they will furnish raw materials for the composition of the complete Indian history of the future. The zeal with which the Europeans have taken to writing local histories is well worthy of serving as a model for us to follow. The distinguished writer Mr. Frederic Harrison states in his *Meaning of History* (p. 386) that there are 80,000 historical works and 70,000 engravings on Paris alone. Another writer informs us that the books and pamphlets written in English on Napoleon alone number 50,000, while if we take into account all the works on Napoleon in all the European languages, they will be so many that if a reader finishes one book a day, he will take one hundred years to go through them all.

Great need for archæological excavations in Bengal.

It is a matter for regret that not even a small portion of the sum spent by the Government on the archæological excavations is devoted to Bengal. There are, however, in Bengal many places where the excavations can be made with good results, bringing to light forts and palaces, temples and monasteries, images, inscriptions, coins etc. Without the aid of archæological excavations undertaken either by the Government, some institutions or private individuals, the principal source of collecting materials for the history of Bengal will remain unutilized.

Attempt to write the history of Bengal from the traditions and folk-lore current in Bengal.

Though the traditions and folk-lore current in Bengal can help a good deal in the writing of the history of Bengal, they should be used with great caution. An enthusiastic worker in this field Mr. Haridas Palit of Maldah has collected with much care the traditions and folk-lore current in the villages in the district of Maldah. The remarks he has made in an article on this subject are worthy of our special attention: "In the course of my search for traditions and folk-lore, I had at times to live with the uncivilized but simple and truthful people like the Konchs, Palihās etc. I had to spend nights in cow-sheds without any light, lying on pallets of straw. Sometimes I had to spend days without any food or drink. It is possible to proceed in the work of collection of historical materials by mixing with the simple peasants spending parts of the nights in chit-chats with them, keeping away the terrible mosquitoes by the smoke of burnt hay and husks. These peasants never agree to talk freely with strangers until the latter are able to mix with the former intimately. It is not convenient to talk with them in day time when they remain busy with their daily works. They get leisure only at night. The statements they make on the strength of the traditions which have come down to them orally from previous generations are invaluable from the historical standpoint. They speak frankly about old towns, trade and commerce, rivers, deities, customs and practices, rites and ceremonies and suchlike."[1]

Special works on the sifting of historical evidence.

Of the evidences collected, it is necessary to determine with great care those that are to be utilized and those to be rejected. The success of the historical writer depends a good deal upon this extremely difficult work of sifting evidences. There are a few English works on the subject, *viz.* Mr. H. B. George's *Historical Evidence*, Prof. L. E. Rushbrook Williams' *Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Materials*. Though Mr. J. W. Jeudwine's *Manufacture of Historical Materials* deals specially with the historical documents of Great Britain and Ireland, it contains in places general remarks helpful to writers of history. The elicitation of historical facts from folk-lore may be facilitated by a study of Mr. G. L. Gomme's *Folk-lore as an Historical Science*.

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[1] *Report of the Bengal Literary Conference*, 3rd session, p. 128.

The development of historical works in Bengali.

It is no doubt the earnest desire of every educated Bengali to see that authoritative histories of Bengal are written in Bengali, and our mother-tongue is enriched by the composition of many historical works in Bengali. The literature of a people mirrors its life, and is shaped to a great extent by the wants and aspirations of that people. So long as a great desideratum is not felt among us for a large historical literature in our mother-tougue, such literature will never come into being. In the shade of English literature, their is an obstacle in the way of the full development of such literature within a short time. Usually, our desire for reading histories is fulfilled by English literature. This checks in a large measure the extension of encouragement and patronage to the authors of Bengali historical works. Along with the study of Bengali historical works, the teaching and examination of Bengali students in history should also be through the medium of Bengali. The present method of teaching and examination in schools and colleges is extremely defective, for a Bengali student is to read from his boyhood histories in a tongue not intelligible to him so long as he is not able to penetrate with a good deal of labour the veil presented by the language. The mastering of the intricacies of a foreign tongue takes a long time, before which, the study of history becomes unpalatable to most of the students. It is this defective method that is responsible for the want of the requisite amount of eagerness of the Bengali students for the study of history. In view of these facts Bengali ought to be made the medium of instruction and study in the educational institutions of this province. The enriching of our historical literature is also possible to some extent by the translation of notable historical works from other languages. Series of Bengali translations like the *Samasāmayika Bhārata* are extremely necessary.

As it is not proper to make this Address more lengthy, I have no space to dwell upon the history of Moslems in India. I have said many things about them in my *Promotion of Learning in India (by Muhammadans)*.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, I beg to point out that during the last two or three thousand years, the Hindus had to pass through many periods of storm and stress. Though they were very conservative, yet they managed to adapt themselves to the changed circumstancs of the different epochs by introducing changes in the various fields of their actions. It is my belief that the great progress made by them in the various arts and sciences, in literature, philosophy, *vārttā* (economics), *daṇḍanīti* (polity), architecture, sculpture etc. and in spiritual culture, is replete with many lessons for us to learn. There were in ancient Egypt, Asia Minor, and Persia many races who reached the acme of power and glory but they were faced with problems of life which they failed to solve and were in consequence effaced from the surface of the globe. The speciality about the Hindus is that inspite of the difficulties they had to face, they are still maintaining their existence with their heads erect and with the essential elements of their culture and civilization still intact. Mr. Śaśadhar Roy has penned this message of hope about the Bengalis in his paper read at the third session of the Bengal Literary Conference: "The Bengalis have not yet been deficient in the firmness of their nerves; they have not yet been down in their enterprise, in the sharpness of their intellect, and in the intensity of their feelings. Their activities in the last few years are remarkable." It is no doubt a matter for satisfaction that the mental strength of the Bengalis is still sufficiently great, inspite of its unfavourable surroundings, but we shall have to try our best to see that it is developed further and applied in the various fields of activities. Of the various nations of the world, each has its own peculiar genius. Of the many subjects in which the ancient Hindus gave proofs of their superior genius, religious and spiritual culture formed one of them. This culture has come down to their present descendants as their invaluable heritage. Though the number of the Hindus who are adept in the subject is small, yet it should be admitted that deep knowledge of it has not yet died out among them. The genius of the Hindus expressed itself also in many secular arts and sciences from which many lessons can still be drawn for our benefit. A principal object of writing the history of a nation is to present a complete picture of its activities in several directions, of its progess and downfall, so that if it has anything to teach for solving the present problems of our life, if it has anything from which we can take timely warnings in our present circumstances, then we should listen to that teaching and take that warning. The Truth in pursuit of which our noble ancestors did not hesitate to suffer all kinds of hardships should inspire us to dedicate our labours to the investigation of the truths upon which histories are based. The glories achieved by them should stimulate us to preserve as many of their disappearing rays of light as are possible at the present day by perpetuating them in permanent records for the benefit of ourselves and our posterity.

The Statal Circle (Maṇḍala) and its Significance

The publicists of ancient India used to apply the term *maṇḍala* to a cluster of states, the activities of which were likely to be or actually brought into play by the political actions of any one of them. The object of this paper is to deal principally with the *maṇḍala* as described in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, and its great importance as evident from several chapters in the treatise, and speak incidentally of the current misconceptions about some topics connected with the *maṇḍala*. Though the epics, the *purāṇas*, the *Manusaṃhitā*, etc. refer to the statal circle or treat it at varying lengths, they were not sufficient to show us the key to its real worth. It is the Kauṭilīya that has revealed to us its great importance in the handling of the inter-state affairs of those days.

It is natural for every state to be either friendly or hostile to those near it. On account of proximity, the states have to come into contact with one another for various reasons and take to 'courses of action' of various kinds according to circumstances. For the facility of consideration of the steps that should be taken by a state in particular situations, the ancient

Indian politicians found it convenient to carry on their deliberations on the footing of a *maṇḍala.* As the result of their political experiences, they saw that ordinarily for the solution of the problems that arise out of the relations of a particular state with its neighbours, it might be sufficient for the purposes of deliberation if twelve types of neighbouring states be taken as constituting the statal circle. It was for this reason that according to the prevailing view, the *maṇḍala* was looked upon as composed of twelve states. It should be borne in mind that the *maṇḍala* is but a framework with states of particular types in particular settings with special nomenclature to indicate their peculiarities. Along with the prevailing view of the *maṇḍala* of twelve states, there were those in which it was taken as composed of a lesser or larger number of elements. Hence the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (viii, 20-28) details the differences of opinion on the point.

The authors of the treatises on polity have affixed a special name to each of the types of states included in the statal circle. For the sake of convenience, one of the states is taken as the starting point of their deliberations and is called *vijigīṣu.*

The five states in the five zones in front of the *vijigīṣu* or the central state are *ari* (enemy), *mitra* (friend), *ari-mitra* (enemy's friend), *mitra-*

mitra (friend's friend), and *ari-mitra-mitra* (friend of the enemy's friend); while the four states in the four zones in the rear are *pārṣṇi-grāha* (rear-enemy, the literal meaning being heal-catcher), *ākranda* (rear-friend), *pārṣṇi-grāhāsāra* (rear-enemy's friend), and *ākrandāsāra* (rear-friend's friend). Besides these, two states adjacent to the central are called *madhyama* (medium) and *udāsīna* (super). Thus the central state and its enemy together with those four states in the four zones on the side on which the enemy stands, and the four states in the four zones on the other side plus the medium and the super states constitute the *maṇḍala*.

If we put too much emphasis on the root-meaning of the name *vijigīṣu* (bent on conquests), we would miss the sense in which the term has been used in connection with the *maṇḍala*. It would be an error to suppose that the term signifies a sovereign who desires to be victorious in a battle. In fact, however, the sovereign who becomes the centre of the deliberations of the politicians regarding inter-state affairs at a particular time is the *vijigīṣu*. If this had not been the case, the scheme of the *maṇḍala* would have been of no use except in times of war, but we notice that it has its use in times of peace as well. Moreover, the desire for conquests may be the characteristic of many sovereigns instead of being the peculiar feature of only one; hence it is proper to render the name *vijigīṣu* by some colourless word such as the central state, forming, as it did, the centre of deliberations of the ancient Indian politicians regarding the interstate affairs.

Ordinarily, causes of friction arise frequently between two adjacent states. On the strength of this fact, adjacency has been taken as productive of enmity between the *vijigīṣu* (the sovereign strength of whose position is weighed through the scheme of the *maṇḍala*) and the *ari* (the sovereign against whose position, that of the *vijigīṣu* is weighed). Following this principle of adjacency as a prolific source of enmity, the neighbour of *ari* in the next zone is hostile to *ari* and therefore friendly to *vijigīṣu* and hence called *mitra* of the latter. In this way, the state in the zone next to *mitra* is *ari-mitra* (friend of *ari*), that in the zone next to *ari-mitra* is *mitra-mitra* (friend's friend), while the last in the chain is *ari-mitra-mitra* i.e. friend of the enemy's friend. The attitudes of the states in the four zones in the rear are ordinarily determinable by the same principle of adjacency as in the other cases. The sovereign in the zone next to the central state in its rear is for the said reason hostile to him and is called *pārṣṇigrāha*, to distinguish him from the *ari*. The name has its origin from the chance of his attacking the *vijigīṣu* from the rear while the latter engaged in active hostilities with the *ari*. The next three sovereigns in the chain of zones in the rear are first, *ākranda*[1] i.e. the sovereign adjacent to *pārṣṇigrāha* and therefore hostile to him and in consequence friendly to the central state; next, the friend of *pārṣṇigrāha* called *pārṣṇigrāhāsāra*,[2] and then, the friend of *ākranda* called *ākrandāsāra*, (*āsāra* meaning one that hastens towards *pārṣṇigraha* or *ākranda* for giving help). Though adjacency usually gives rise to causes of friction, there are factors which by coming into operation can counteract its influence. This is recognized by Kauṭilya i.e. in Book vii, where the influences of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, etc. counteract the ordinary results of this spacial adjacency or otherwise of the states. The *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva Sūri contains the same view in the *prakaraṇa* on the six courses of action: *kāryyaṃ hi mitratvāmitratvayoḥ kāraṇaṃ na punarviprakarṣa-sannikaṭaṃ*. In fact, mere distance or proximity cannot be the immediate cause of friendship or enmity; the cause lies in actions. The *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (viii, 14) designates as enemies any two persons eager to have the same object.

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[1] So called because the *vijigīṣu* so to speak cries to it for help.

[2] That is, hastening (*ā-sarati*) towards *pārṣṇigrāha* for helping him.

It should also be borne in mind that the front or the rear of the central state depends upon the position of the state which happens to be the *ari* at a particular time. The side on which the *ari* is situate constitutes the front while the other side the rear of the central state.

Thus far we have realized the nature of eight of the constituents of the *maṇḍala* viz, the central state and its enemy together with the four allies of each of them. It now remains to explain the nature of two more constituents viz. *madhyama* and *udāsīna*. The real character of these two members of the statal circle has been misunderstood even by scholars, who have tried to determine their functions within the *maṇḍala* by drawing inferences from the designations of the constituents. These designations are misleading, for *madhyama* may lead one to take it as a 'mediator' between two disputants, while *udāsīna* may give rise to the notion that it is a neutral state. But mediation or neutrality cannot be the monopoly of two particular states, for any member of the *maṇḍala* can mediate, or be neutral in a similar manner. The real meanings of the designations are different. The sovereign who is more powerful than either *vijigīṣu* or *ari* but less powerful than the two combined is *madhyama* (*Arthaśāstra*, vi, 2; *Kāmandakīya*, viii, 18 and Saṅkarārya's com. on same) i.e. the state of medium strength, so called with reference to *udāsīna* (literally meaning 'seated on a height') the state with the greatest strength within the *maṇḍala*. Thus *udāsīna* is stronger than each of *ari*, *vijigīṣu*, and *madhyama*, but weaker than the three combined (*Arthaśāstra*, vi, 2 and Saṅkarārya's com. on *Kāmandakīya*, viii, 19). To have a clearer idea of the relative strength of the powers, let us suppose that the *vijigīṣu* is of the same strength as the *ari*. The *madhyama* would then be of about double the strength of the *vijigīṣu*, and the *udāsīna* of about four times the strength of the same state. The *madhyama* and *udāsīna* may be either friends or enemies of the *vijigīṣu* or may remain neutral. The special feature of these two states is not their attitude towards the *vijigīṣu* or *ari*, but their strength. The position of the *madhyama* and *udāsīna* in the statal circle has been specified to be in the first zone surrounding the *vijigīṣu*. *Ari*, *vijigīṣu*, *madhyama*, and *udāsīna* are the four principal constituents of a *maṇḍala*. The rest come into our consideration as allies either of the *ari* or *vijigīṣu*.

It has been stated already that the principal use of the statal circle lay in the determination of the 'course of action' which should be adopted by a state in the midst of the inter-state relations represented in the diagram of the *maṇḍala*. The prosperity of a state depends upon that of the seven elements of sovereignty viz., *svāmin* (sovereign), *amātya* (minister), *janapada* (territory with the subjects), *durga* (fort), *koṣa* (treasure), *daṇḍa* (army), and *mitra* (ally). The *vijigiṣu* has to determine which of the six courses of action viz. *sandhi* (treaty of peace and alliances), *vigraha* (war), *āsana* (armed quietude with or without blockade of the foe), *yāna* (attack), *saṃśraya* (resigning oneself to another's protection), and *dvaidhībhāva* (making alliance with one and fighting with another), or their combinations would suit him in the circumstances besetting him.

The seven elements of sovereignty and six courses of action.

The *Arthaśāstra* contains elaborate instructions as to the use of the *maṇḍala* and the courses of action to be adopted in particular circumstances. A superficial view of what has been said has given rise to wrong notions about it. Mr. Smith for instance was misled by the twelve constituents of the *maṇḍala* to think that Kauṭilya's remarks can have applcation only to cases of small principalities. He says, "The author (Kauṭilya) assumes that the principles expounded by him are to be applied to the government of a small kingdom, surrounded by other small kingdoms, all either actually or potentially hostile. The rules of the text-book do not provide for the needs of an extensive consolidated empire, and it is obvious that the work deals with the state of things as existing before the Mauryas had acquired permanent power" (*Early India*, p. 138). Prof. Winternitz has also echoed the same opinion in the *Calcutta Review* (April, 1924). It is not, however, reasonable to draw the aforesaid conclusion from the sight of the mere number of the states in the *maṇḍala*, for Kauṭilya does not specify the dimension of any of the states in the *maṇḍala*. According to his directions, countries like France, Germany, and Russia can well be its components. The number twelve at which the constituents of the *maṇḍala* were put is a figure that was found by the experience of the politicians of those days to afford a sufficient number of states in the diagram for the purposes of their discussions. As a matter of fact, only three states that were actively friendly or hostile to the *vijigīṣu* formed the subject-matter of deliberations. Hence, to infer from the mere number of the constituents of the *maṇḍala* that all of them must be small is not at all reasonable.

Misconception about the six courses of action.

Mr. Smith also remarks in his *Early India* (p. 138): "Permanent peace between neighbouring states was regarded as unattainable. We are instructed that 'whoever is superior in power shall wage war;' 'whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace.' 'The king who is situated anywhere on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy'." I take the first and the last statements together. Here Kauṭilya does not state anything that is contrary to what was and is found not only in India but also anywhere in the world. Spacial adjacency is a fruitful cause of friction between any two states; and hence Kauṭilya remarks that a state should look upon its immediate neighbour as its natural enemy in matters of inter-state policy. But nowhere does he state that because a state stands in the zone adjacent to another state, the two must be warring with each other perpetually. On the other hand, he refers to *sāma*, *dāna*, and *bheda*, the application of which can turn even a natural enemy into a friend. Hence it is apparent that the translations of the passages upon which Mr. Smith has relied have misled him altogether. This has also happened in regard to the renderings of the other two passages quoted above. I turn to the first passage, the Sanskrit original of which is '*abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇīyāt*'. It should be noted that in the first portion of vii, 1 from which the passage has been taken, *Kauṭilya* is treating of the circumstances in which a state should launch on war or take to the other 'courses of action.' What he means by the passage is this that a sovereign should enter into war with his enemy at a time when he feels that his power is superior to that of his opponent; otherwise he should try to postpone or avert it. The correct rendering of the passage, in my opinion, ought to be that 'a (state) should enter into war when its strength is superior to that of its enemy'. This is a piece of advice given by Kauṭilya to the sovereigns of his time and is meant to be followed by them as far as practicable. It does not imply that whenever a sovereign finds himself superior to a neighbouring state in strength, the former must attack the latter.

As regards the translation of the other passage upon which Mr. Smith has relied, a reference to the original can settle the matter. The original runs thus '*abhyuccīyamānaḥ samādhimokṣaṃ kārayet*' (vii, 17). Here Kauṭilya is speaking of the deliverance of the hostage (*samādhi*) given by a sovereign who had to submit to a humiliating treaty of peace. He may, sometime after the exhaustion of the war, recoup his power so much as to be superior to the other sovereign to whom he is bound by the treaty under which he has been smarting. In such a case, the contrivance resorted to is to secure the escape of the hostage from the custody of the other party. The matter was so managed that outwardly the hostage appeared to escape of his own free will and without any help from his pledger, although secret agents in the pay of the latter may actually assist in the matter. The escape of the hostage unsettled the existing treaty, and gave rise to conditions in which the fresh demands of the pledgee may be either rejected point blank or refused on various grounds. This would lead to friction but as the circumstances are changed inasmuch as the aggrieved party has become inferior in power to the other, he is not likely to declare a war specially as there is no direct proof of the pledger's assistance in the escape of the hostage. The act is, in view of the latter's secret implication in it, really wrongful but concealed under a garb of innocence, and turned to advantage by a shuffling of what to an inferior state would have been brought home as its duty. The only argument that may be adduced in favour of the breach of treaty is with reference to the exceptional cases in which, for instance, the very existence or the necessary development of the state bound by the treaty are hampered by its terms. The ground for the breach would then be this that the latter are the primary duties of the state and any obligations that hinder their fulfilment must be considered null and void.[1] Moreover it should be borne in mind that an attack on a state by another merely because the one is weak and other is strong was not justified by practice, though, of course, a pretext put forward as a real cause for war might have been picked up for the opening of hostilities. Conflict must have preceded war and there is no ground to suppose otherwise for the following reasons :—

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[1] See my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India* pp. 53, 54.

(1) Kauṭilya says that a state in calamity can be *protected* or easily attacked (vii, 1).

(2) A state in calamity is mentioned by Kauṭilya as *yātavya* with reference to another state on the assumption that ill-will exists between the two parties. Should they be friendly the former would be protected instead of being attacked by the latter.

(3) It is expressly laid down by Kauṭilya that writs (implying negotiation) are the root of peace and war between states [*Kauṭilīya*, Bk. ii, p. 70 (śāsanādhikāra)] ; he also tells us that he wrote the chapter on royal writs not merely in accordance with all the *śāstras* (treatises on polity) but also the prevailing practices (*prayogo*) of the day (*Ibid.*, p. 75).

(4) If *pratāpa* means 'ulitmatum' [see *Kauṭilīya*, Bk. 1 (dūta-praṇidhi), p. 32], then it is an evidence of the existence of negotiation before the declaration of war. Hence, it is not permissible to suppose that a state in calamities could be attacked by another state without any previous conflict. A friendly state would, on the other hand, protect it in its sorry plight.

This view of the matter is rendered firmer by the fact that there are means at the disposal of a very powerful sovereign to demand submission of other sovereigns far and near for reasons other than existing conflict. These means were provided by the politico-religious ceremonials of *rājasūya* and *aśvamedha* which could be performed at will with the said political object in view. But they could be utilized by those sovereigns alone who had already become powerful enough to dare and defy the active oppositions that are sure to follow the celebration of the ceremonies, and served more as ways of asserting power already acquired than as those of acquiring the power itself (see *Inter-State etc.*, pp. 28-31).

There was also another obstacle in the way of entering into a war without any cause, merely for the reason that the attacking state is superior in strength. This obstacle lay in the incurring of displeasure of the other states of the *maṇḍala* and even of the subjects. Kauṭilya was never for waging war if it could be avoided. He was fully alive to the dire consequences of war and has mentioned them in his treatise as *kṣaya* (loss of men), *vyaya* (expense), *pravāsa* (sojourn abroad), and *pratyavāya* (sin). The *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* mentions twenty causes of war while the *Nītivākyāmṛta* condemns a man who advises the opening of war when there are means for avoiding it. Thus it is found that the treatises on polity do not favour the statement that has been put into the mouth of Kauṭilya on the strength of the translations upon which Mr. Smith has relied.

The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*

The statements in the *Arthaśāstra* as to its authorship disbelieved.

THE publication of Prof. Winternitz's lecture on the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in the April number of the *Calcutta Review* has given us an opportunity of reviewing the arguments upon which he bases his conclusion that the *Kauṭilīya* is a composition of the 3rd century A.D., and that its author is not Kauṭilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. I would commence with the arguments advanced by him at p. 16 and proceed with them one after another according to the convenience of tackling them.

There are several statements in the *Arthaśāstra* to the effect that the work was written by Kauṭilya. They have, according to Prof. Winternitz, no more value than those in the *Mahābhārata* and *Manu-smṛti* attributing those works to Vyāsa and Manu. As he has assigned no ground for holding such an opinion, the remark is but the result of personal belief against which others may hold entirely different beliefs. As to the verse in which it is stated

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* A criticism (see *Calcutta Review*, Sep., Nov., Dec., 1924) of Prof. M. Winternitz's article in the *Calcutta Review, April*, 1924.

Two grounds for disbelieving one of the statements: (*i*) Unpleasant to Chandragupta.

that the kingdom was wrested by Kauṭilya from the Nandas, he states that as the remark giving the whole credit to Kauṭilya could not but be unpleasant to Chandragupta or his successor, it must have been written by some one else. This statement involves necessarily the implication that either the work was written by an author other than the minister of Chandragupta, the verse being inserted in the work later on to give it weight and pass it off as the composition of the famous politician, or that the whole work including the verse was written by an author or authors other than Kauṭilya the minister. This is, I should mention, looking at but one aspect of the question, and basing an inference on that partial view. There is the other aspect, namely, the gratitude of Chandragupta towards his political *guru*, to whom he owed so much in the matter of acquisition of power and position. That Chandragupta was so ungrateful that he would resent the mere mention of a fact, which was so widely known, by one whom he must have revered much as his minister and as a person from whom he had derived so much help in his rise to the throne, remains yet to be proved. Prof. Jacobi 'sees in this verse the self-consciousness of a great statesman, of the Indian Bismarck, as he calls Kauṭilya,' but according to (*ii*) A Paṇḍit could not be a statesman.

Prof. Winternitz, the contents of the *Arthaśāstra* do not justify the inference that it is the composition of a statesman as in his view, it is like the compositon of a Paṇḍit. The reason assigned by him for this conclusion is that the *Arthaśāstra* shows exactly the same predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as in other scientific works composed by Paṇḍits. In support of this assertion, he cites some examples. Before reviewing the examples themselves, I should state that such combinations of the Paṇḍit's learning and the knowledge of at least the theoretic side of an art or profession were not uncommon in ancient India; for it was the brāhmaṇas who were repositories of all branches of learning or art, and it was not impossible for individual brāhmaṇas of special capacity to be masters of several fields of learning and art at a time, specially as these special fields were not so wide in ancient India as they are at present. Even in modern times, scholars with a deep and specialized knowledge of a particular science or art together with a general knowledge of a few other sciences or arts are not rare. For this reason, I do not understand why the existence of such combination should have been impossible in ancient India. I may also point out that because this was the actual state of things, it was not regarded as an anomaly by the Hindus that eminent paṇḍits should at the same time be prime ministers of kings as mentioned in the following verses [see *Parāśara Saṃhitā* (Bom. S. S.), p. 3] :—

Indrasyāṅgiraso Nalasya Sumatiḥ Śaibyasya Medhātithir

Dhaumyo Dharmasutasya Vaiṇyanṛpateḥ Svaujā Nimer Gautamiḥ,

Pratyagdṛṣṭirarundhatīsahacaro Rāmasya Puṇyātmano

Yadvat tasya bibhor abhūt kulagururmantrī tathā Mādhavaḥ.

[Just as the religious guide Mādhava was the mantrin (of king Bukkana), so was Bṛhaspati to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhātithi to Śaibya, Dhaumya to Yudhiṣṭhira, Svaujas to Pṛthu, Vasiṣṭha to Rāma.]

Moreover, we find provision in the Sanskrit literature that the brāhmaṇas should usually be the mantrins. It cannot be said that those who were selected for the high position used to be educated in a way different from the traditional one of keeping them in the house of their *gurus* up to a certain age-limit. The influences imbibed during this period developed in them a mode of thinking and a style of writing which may be distasteful to the politicians of the present day but may not have been so in ancient India. There is nothing to show that in ancient India the said mode of thinking and writing could not co-exist with the qualifications necessary for a politician, though in modern times, a politician may develop a more lucid style by virtue of the training he receives and the surroundings in which he moves.

Again, the attribution of the authorship of works on polity to brāhmaṇa authors, such as Vaiśampāyana, or the existence of brāhmaṇa names among those quoted by Kauṭilya as authors of such treatises, shows that it was not regarded as uncouth that the brāhmaṇas, whose ordinary profession was *adhyayana* and *adhyāpana* of the sciences, should write on politics or warfare, on which the kṣattriyas, whose means of livelihood were *śastra* and *bhūtarakṣaṇaṃ*, should alone have written.

Errors in the examples cited to prove that Kauṭilya was a *paṇḍit* and not a statesman.

Now I turn to the examples cited by Prof. Winternitz (pp. 16, 17) to show Kauṭilya's predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as found in the scientific works composed by paṇḍits. The long list of good qualities of each of the seven constituents of a state has been cited as the first instance of the class. But we should bear in mind that if the insertion of this list of excellences can be shown to be a *sine qua non* in the treatment of the subject of *maṇḍala* in its entirety, the enumeration of the excellences cannot be said to be the

I. *Re.* list of excellences of the the seven constituents of a state.

outcome of a paṇḍit's love of pedantry. The main object of the scheme of *maṇḍala* is to gauge the strength of a state in comparison with that of the other neighbouring states in particular circumstances. It is the seven constituents that compose a state, and the strength of a particular state can be measured by scrutinizing the qualities of each constituent with reference to the standards mentioned in the aforesaid list minus the deficiencies of each owing to the *vyasanas*, which may affect any of them ; and hence, we find in the *Arthaśāstra* the delineation of the standard excellences of each constituent, and the treatment of the peculiar *vyasanas* of the different constituents with suggestions as to their remedies in the Eighth Book. The calculation of the relative strength of a particular state together with the calculation of strength of its allies as against similar measurement of strength of the inimical state and its allies enables a sovereign or a politician to adopt one or more of the six courses of action or their combinations dealt with in the Seventh Book. There is a thread of logical connection running through the chapters of the Sixth and Seventh Books, and the list of the qualities is but a necessary link in the chain. Therefore, it is not proper to state that the aforesaid list of qualities is but an expression of the love of pedantry of the author.

II. 'Maṇḍala as a kind of geometry of the situations of the states'—criticized.

The scheme of the maṇḍala (statal circle) of twelve states was in currency in those days. There were other rival schemes, but this was the most popular, because it was found by the politicians of those days as sufficient for the needs of reference to or delineation of the situations arising among the states in their mutual intercourse, the components of the statal circle with their defined correlation and set nomenclature furnishing the basal concepts and terminology for the performance of the task with ease and precision.[1] The twelve states composing a maṇḍala are but types of those situated in the several zones surrounding the aspiring or central state, and hence the adaptation of the scheme of the maṇḍala to particular situations is easily made. It is not also necessary that all the twelve types of states should be involved in every political situation. Only those that correspond to the states actually involved in particular political circumstances may be taken into account. The scheme is meant to be of general application, and it does not matter whether the set of neighbouring states be situated in India, Europe, or elsewhere, and whether they be twelve or less, big or small, just as a geometrical proposition regarding a triangle or a circle is applicable to it, irrespective of its dimension or existence in India or Europe.[1] In view of this, Prof. Winternitz's remarks that "what has been called the inter-state relations is a kind of geometry of the situations of the states" does not detract from the value of Kauṭilya's treatment of the maṇḍala, unless 'geometry' be taken as a synonym of pedantry.

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[1] *Vide* my *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 1-13.

(*iii*) 'The immediate neighbour always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally'—criticized.

Prof. Winternitz says that in the statal circle, the immediate neighbour is always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally. He has ignored that Kauṭilya regards adjacent states as 'natural enemies' because adjacency was, as it is now, a fruitful source of jealousy and enmity, and as the same reason applies to the relation of this state to its neighbour in the next zone, the third state is naturally friendly to the first. This principle of spacial adjacency has been taken as the determiner of friendliness or enmity towards the central state and towards one another. Nowhere has Kauṭilya dogmatized that this relation of natural friendliness or enmity cannot be altered. He has left that inference to be drawn by the reader from the context and by a study of the other portions of the treatise. In Bk. vii, Ch. 14 (*Hīnaśaktipūraṇam*), Kauṭilya suggests the methods by which a weak vijigīṣu makes offer of money, etc., to his enemy's allies who are making a combined attack upon the vijigīṣu. Kauṭilya advises the weak sovereign to make use of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, whenever needed, to make a breach in the hostile combination. This shows that the enemy's friends can become vijigīṣu's friends at any time. Similarly, the enemy might have recruited his allies not merely by calling the sovereigns from the friendly zones but also by turning into friends those sovereigns who are in the inimical zones by use of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *daṇḍa* according to the exigency of the moment.

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[1] Mr. V. Smith has fallen into the same error at p. 138 of his *Early History of India*, and has taken the scheme as an evidence of the state of things as existing before the consolidated empire of the Mauryas came into being.

(*iv*) Is vijigīṣu always a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship?

Prof. Winternitz remarks (p. 17) not without a bit of fling at Kauṭilya that vijigīṣu must 'always be a model of virtue, possessed of the best *prakṛtis* and the embodiment of statesmanship. Nothing can be further from Kauṭilya's purposes than a statement of this sort. The passage at p. 260 of the *Arthaśāstra* (viz., *rājā ātmadravyaprakṛtisampanno nayasyādhiṣṭhānam vijigīṣuḥ*) states that the sovereign with his own resource-elements forming the basis of the (inter-state) policy is vijigīṣu. It cannot be denied that the sovereign of any state forming the centre of political deliberations for the time being can be called vijigīṣu, and every sovereign who requires his inter-state policy to be settled by deliberations has, for the the sake of convenience, to look upon himself as the centre of his maṇḍala, *i.e.*, as vijigīṣu. Hence, if Prof. Winternitz's remark be true, we are forced to commit ourselves to the absurd assumption that every sovereign in a country was a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship. Moreover, it is found from Book vii, Ch. 14, that the weak vijigīṣu is being attacked by a number of allied sovereigns. How can a vijigīṣu be conceived to be weak, if he be always a model of strength? Again, two whole *adhikaraṇas*, *viz.*, *Vyasanādhikaraṇam* (Book viii) and *Ābalīyasam* (Book xii) treating, as they do, of weak and distressed sovereigns cannot have any concern with the vijigīṣu, if Prof. Winternitz's contention be true, and because, as already stated, every sovereign can be a vijigīṣu within his own *maṇḍala*, the two *adhikaraṇas* are meant for none. The fact, however, is that a vijigīṣu is a sovereign like any other sovereign in his maṇḍala, and is as much subject to the ups and downs of regal life as the rest.

Prof. Winternitz sees nothing but quibbling

Are discussions on the *vyasanas* mere quibbling ?

(p. 17) in the discussions in the 8th Book of the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the relative gravity of the several *vyasanas* affecting the seven constituents of the state. This portion of the work devoted to the *vyasanas* has been written for two objects, viz., to suggest the remedies for the several *vyasanas*, and to enable a sovereign or a politician to measure as approximately as possible the relative strength of those states in the maṇḍala that are involved in a particular inter-state affair. To fulfil the second object, it is necessary to ascertain which of the two states, or two groups of states with conflicting interests, has greater strength. Of the several courses of action named in the 7th Book, one or more are adopted in the light of the relative strength possessed by one side as against another. To strike this balance between the strength of a particular state or a group of states and that of another state or group of states, it is necessary to have the detailed treatment of the *vyasanas*, which Prof. Winternitz condemns as mere quibbling. I take a concrete example to make my point clear. Suppose there are two hostile states A and B. A as also B is composed of seven constituents, viz., king, ministers, territory with the subjects, fort, treasure, army, and allies. Now, each of these constituents has its own peculiar defects or distresses, the existence of which takes away from its full value possessed by it in its normal state. Now in order to ascertain the strength of A as against B, it has to be determined how many of the constituents of A are superior to those of B and *vice versa.* Suppose that A has its king addicted to gambling, and B has its king addicted to drinking. According to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the former king is weaker than the latter (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 330). Again if A has *amātya* affected with *vyasana*, and B has *janapada* affected with *vyasana*, the other constituents remaining normal, the affected constituents being different present a difficulty in ascertaining which *vyasana* is graver. According to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the distress of the *amātya* is graver; hence, the state A is weaker than B. If both A and B have their allies, the strength of the allies on each side will have to be subjected to a similar examination in order to reach a conclusion as to which side is stronger. This furnishes the reason why Kauṭilya is at so much pains in comparing the relative weakness of the constituents of the same or different denominations, and gives his own view supported by arguments as to which of the affected constituents under comparison should be regarded as inferior to the other.

This process of calculation of the relative strength of a state requires the aforesaid treatment of the *vyasanas*, and hence it is but missing the real purpose of the method to say that such treatment is nothing but quibbling.

It may be that the presentation of the subject-matter might have been more lucid, but allowance must be made for the distance of time that makes the style of writing far removed from what we may expect. It cannot however be said that the manner of treatment of the *vyasanas* shows that the author was a paṇḍit and not a statesman; for even a statesman of the age in which the work was written could not have been altogether exempt from the influences of his literary surroundings, and could not have avoided, in his treatment of the *vyasanas*, the detailed comparisons between the constituents, essential, as they were, to the process of calculation of the relative strength of the states of the maṇḍala before any 'course of action' could be adopted. After what I have just now said as to the style of writing, I do not think I need say anything regarding Prof. Winternitz's complaint against the lengthy discussions on the choice of ministers in the *Arthaśāstra*. The combination of the learning of a paṇḍit and the practical ability of a politician is not an impossibility, and the portrayal of Cāṇakya accompanied by his disciple in the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act I) shows that in regard to him, the idea of his being a paṇḍit did not jar against that of his being a statesman, because very probably, it reflected the tradition of the actuality.

How far Kauṭilya supports the application of unscrupulous methods in politics.

If Prof. Winternitz's view of the present-day politics be as he has put down, *viz.*, 'the conqueror or the victorious party in war is always the righteous; and just as Kauṭilya occasionally pays his respects to morality, you will find in all proclamations of the great political leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilization' (p. 27), then it certainly abates the poignancy of his condemnation of Kauṭilya. About the minister, he writes that 'there is a strange discrepancy between his strict brāhmaṇical religiosity, and the unscrupulousness with which he recommends all kinds of cunning tricks, in which religious rites and religiosity of the people are abused for political purposes.' There is however a boundary line, beyond which this remark may be applicable, but within which, it does not apply. In justice to Kauṭilya, this limiting line should not be ignored. In internal politics, the unscrupulous means are recommended against only those persons or subjects who are found to be seditious or inimical to the svoereign, and in inter-state politics, they are recommended against the unjust and the hostile, and not against the friendly states. Inspite of these limitations, there existed a wide field for the operation of the moral and the humane principles both in internal and external politics. In this connection, I should point out that Prof. Winternitz's remark (p. 9) that 'in the second chapter of the fifth *adhikaraṇa*, the king is taught how to fill his empty treasury by all kinds of fair and foul means,' of which he cites examples, has done injustice to Kauṭilya; for he expressly mentions towards the end of the chapter that the means should be used against the seditious and the wicked and never against others (*evaṃ duṣyeṣvadhārmikeṣu ca varteta, netareṣu*) which Prof. Winternitz ignores. Space does not allow me to deal at length with the humane principles with which the sovereign is advised by Kauṭilya to treat his subjects. I wish to quote only one passage by way of example:

Prajāsukhe sukhaṃ rājñaḥ
Prajānāṃ ca hite hitam,
Nātmapriyaṃ hitaṃ rājñaḥ
Prajānām tu priyaṃ hitam. (I, 16).

In inter-state relations, the evidences of the *Arthaśāstra* show that a king's deviations from the practices sanctioned by tradition incurred the displeasure of the sovereigns within the maṇḍala and of his own subjects. The references to the dipleasure of these sovereigns would have been to no purpose, if it had not been a cause for apprehension to the recalcitrant monarch. Humane treatment, for instance, of the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter) was required by the opinion of not merely the sovereigns of the time but also of the people. A warning in the *Kauṭilīya* cautions the *daṇḍopanāyin* (dominator) against transgression of his obligations to the submitter, breach of which agitated the whole statal circle to actions for the destruction of the dominator, and provoked even his own ministers to attempt his life or deprive him of his kingdom (*Arthaśāstra*, viii, 16). Again, Kauṭilya, while giving advice to the allies of a king engaged in a fight with another king with his allies, points out that one who attacks the rear of a sovereign has an advantage over one who attacks the rear of a sovereign fighting with an unrighteous king, because fight with a righteous king incurs the displeasure of his own people (*Arthaśāstra*, viii, 13). It was apprehension of this sort that acted as a check upon the conduct of the monarchs of those days in inter-state affairs.

Prof. Winternitz is wrong in holding on the strength of the passage '*abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇīyāt*' (*Arthaśāstra*, vii, 1) that "he who is stronger shall wage war." Kauṭilya is explaining, in the first portion of the chapter, the various courses of action, and signifies by the passage that superiority of strength should be a precondition of embarking on *vigraha*. It does not mean that whenever a sovereign has accumulated sufficient strength, he must attack a weak sovereign. That this supposition is baseless is further proved by Kauṭilya's statement that the relative gains from *sandhi* and *vigraha* being equal, *sandhi* should be made; because *vigraha* leads to loss of men, money, sojourn, and sin (*Arthaśāstra*, vii, 2). Moreover, a war could not take place without one or more causes for declaring it. The reasons for this inference are :—

(1) There are references in the *Arthaśāstra* to weak states being *protected* instead of being attacked by powerful kings (e.g., *Arthaśāstra*, viii, 1). The existence of the course of action called *Saṃśraya*, *i.e.*, taking the help of a powerful king also supports this contention.

(2) It is expressly laid down by Kauṭilya that writs (implying negotiation) are the root of *sandhi* and *vigraha* between states (*Arthaśāstra*, ii, 10). Kauṭilya informs us that he wrote the chapter (ii, 10) on royal writs not merely in accordance with all the *śāstras* on polity but also the prevailing practices (*prayoga*) of the day.

I do not appreciate Prof. Winternitz's rendering of *āsana* by the word 'neutrality' (p. 10) and that of *Saṃśraya* by the word '*alliance*.' The nature of the course of action *āsana* will be clear from Bk. vii, Chs. i and iv of the *Arthaśāstra*, and this is also corroborated by the *Kāmandakīya* which says that *āsana* is a form of *vigraha* (*vide* xi, 35—*yānāsane vigrahasya rūpam*). The courses of action called *sandhāyāsana* (taking to *āsana* in regard to the enemy after making alliance with a state) and *vigṛhyāsana* (taking to *āsana* after declaration of war) adopted during the continuance of hostilities would not have been possible if *āsana* had meant neutrality. *Saṃśraya* is adopted by a weak sovereign for protection against the attack of a powerful enemy, and consists in resigning himself to the protection of another powerful sovereign ready to help him. This is not an alliance, for had it been so, it would have come under *sandhi*, which in the *Kauṭilīya* comprehends both the treaties of peace and the various kinds of alliance.

Is Kauṭilya (Crookedness) too bad a name for a minister.

Prof. Winternitz has grave doubt whether the minister of an emperor could have the name 'Kauṭilya' meaning 'crookedness.' We should, however, consider that the minister had no alternative in the matter. It is a *gotra* name, *i.e.*, the name of one of his ancestors, and over it the minister, or his parents and guardians had no control. On this point, Śaṅkarārya's commentary on the *Kāmandakīya* (i, 6) runs thus: "Viṣṇugupta was the name given him at the naming ceremony, while Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya were derived from the birth-place and the *gotra* respectively." Thus the name Viṣṇugupta which was conferred on the minister at the naming ceremony by his parents or guardians is not at all repulsive. Hence, the minister is not to blame for the name. But even if 'Kauṭilya' had been his personal name, I do not think he would have been the worse for it; because the very fact that such a name could at all be chosen by the parents or guardians for a child is a sufficient proof that it was not repugnant to the ears of the people of the time. In early Sanskrit literature we sometimes meet with such names. To mention only a few: Śunaḥśepa (dog-tailed) in the *Aitr. Br.*, Piśuna (slanderous), Kauṇapadanta (having teeth like a goblin) in the *Arthaśāstra.* Do we not in England see men with names like 'Savage' and 'Lamb' rising to positions of fame and power, and would it be a bar to their becoming premiers of England if their capabilities raise them to that high office?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* (1924) points out that the correct form of 'Kauṭilya' is 'Kauṭalya' *i.e.*, 'born in Kuṭala gotra,' and that neither the term 'Kauṭilya,' nor its root 'Kuṭila' is explained in the *Nighaṇṭu* as Gotrarṣi. On the other hand, 'Kuṭala' is mentioned by Keśavasvāmin in his *Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa* as meaning both Gotrarṣi and an ornament. The right form of the name, *i.e.*, 'Kauṭalya' is found in all the manuscripts of the text of the

Arthaśāstra and its commentaries used by the editor and described by him in the Introduction.

What the use of the words 'iti Kauṭilyaḥ' signifies.

The use of the words *'iti Kauṭilyaḥ'* at the end of the sentences embodying the opinion of the author of the *Arthaśāstra* shows, according to Prof. Winternitz, that the treatise was not the composition of Kauṭilya, and that the words were put in by a later writer to pass it off as the outcome of the pen of the great minister. Prof. Winternitz, however, admits that the words in the third person can signify the author if he belongs to a school of writers on the subject; and for this reason, he states that Patañjali never records his opinion in the *Mahābhāṣya* by saying *'iti Patañjaliḥ,'* while it is the practice of the Ācāryas (schools) to state their own opinion as if it is another's. The nice distinction, that has been drawn by Prof. Winternitz between the authors belonging to schools and those not belonging to them has no authority in its support. If the practice be true in the case of the former, there is no ground why it should be denied in respect of the latter. Prof. Winternitz gives us to understand that a statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* in the third person by Patañjali referring to his own opinion would have satisfied him, but it should be noted that Patañjali himself belongs to the *Pāṇini school of grammarians* just as Baudhāyana and others belonged to their respective schools on the particular subjects. I may point out in this connexion that the practice of referring to the author himself by the use of his own name is very widespread in India and is found to have been continued even in the mediæval period by writers of both Bengali and Hindi works. *e.g.*, Chaṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Tulasīdāsa, Kāśīrāma, etc.

Prof. Winternitz points out as significant the silence of several treatises about Kauṭilya. The *Purāṇas* do not mention Kauṭilya as an author, the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mahābhārata* are silent about him and neither Megasthenes nor any other Greek or Roman author knows anything about him. There may be many causes for their silence, and I do not think it safe from the standpoint of evidence-sifting to put upon it any interpretation of our own. The silence of the Greek ambassador about Kauṭilya need not be a matter for surprise so long as we have to remain satisfied with only fragments of the *Indika.*

Prof. Winternitz remarks that the agreements between Megasthenes' account of India, and the description of same as found in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* are of such a nature that they hold good in regard to the condition of India at all times. On the other hand, their differences according to him relate to the most essential details. Before I examine the instances that have been cited by Prof. Winternitz on the strength of Dr. Otto Stein's work entitled "*Megasthenes and Kauṭilya*" to prove his proposition, I should like to mention that in dealing with this subject, we should bear in mind the following points :—

1. As Megasthenes' *Indika* has come to our hand in only a number of fragments, we would be mistaken in drawing such inferences as could only have been drawn if the whole work had been before us. Prof. Winternitz is for this reason in error when he thinks it a matter for surprise (p. 19) that Megasthenes does not mention Kauṭilya.

2. As admitted by Prof. Winternitz himself (p. 22), "the descriptions of Megasthenes may in some cases be inaccurate or coloured for tendencious purposes." Profs. Macdonell and Keith treating of the king's position in regard to land in ancient India speak of the Greek notices on the subjects as those "in which unhappily it would be dangerous to put much trust, since they were collected by observers who were probably little used to accurate investigations (of such matters), and whose statements were based on inadequate information" (*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 214).

3. It is well-known that the authors, through whose quotations from the *Indika*, the fragments of same have been compiled, do not at times hesitate to alter the quoted passages to suit their liking.

4. Dr. Schwanbeck writes that though Megasthenes wrote portions of his account from personal observations, he had to depend in the rest upon hearsay and report.

In giving instances of differences between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya on the most essential details, he has included the silence of Kauṭilya about milestones on the roads as one such instance; but properly speaking, this is no difference at all, because when a passage in Kauṭilya is in conflict with one in Megasthenes regarding a most essential detail, it is then only that we are justified in saying that such a difference has taken place. In a case like the present, Megasthenes should be taken to supplement the account in the *Arthaśāstra*.

I shall now deal with the other instances *seriatim* :—

1. According to Prof. Winternitz, Megasthenes mentions that water for irrigation was carefully distributed to private people, while Kauṭilya knows nothing of such a distribution of water, but mentions private water-works. But Kauṭilya expressly refers to the presence of canals which make the regions where they exist independent of the rain-fall in regard to the yield of crops (*Arthaśāstra*, ii, 24 *kulyāvāpānām ca kālataḥ*). The agriculturists had certainly to make their own arrangements for the raising of water

Re. Irrigation.

from the canals. The *udakabhāga* (water-rate) varied according to the ways in which the water was raised.

2. What Megasthenes states in Fragment xxvi is that "such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time, so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and innudate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud." The reason assigned by Megasthenes for having the city built of wood is the destructive fury of the inundation of the river or of the rainfall. The chance of a wooden city catching fire was as great then as it was at any other time. The only means of avoiding fire was by using brick or stone or some other material not inflammable. That such materials were used within the city for the purposes of construction is amply proved by the excavations at Pāṭaliputra. If the use of wood for the construction of the city be taken as an evidence of belonging to the 4th cent. B.C., the use of stone has the same claim to becoming a similar criterion; hence to distinguish that Megasthenes speaks of the use of wood and Kauṭilya of stone, and thereby Megasthenes is older than Kauṭilya is evidently wide of the mark.

Re. Wooden structures.

Moreover, the passage upon which Prof. Winternitz has based his argument is obscure (*Arthaśāstra*, p, 52). According to Dr. R. Shamasastry's translation, the passage speaks of roads of chariots and not at all of ramparts. If this translation be correct, then Kauṭilya's reasons for suggesting stone instead of wood in the construction of roads for chariots was to avoid fire caused by friction. That Kauṭilya is not a strict opponent of wood will be apparent from his suggestion of the use of timber in the construction of *bhūmigṛha* (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 58) and other structures. Further, even if we suppose that the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of ramparts, and Kauṭilya recommends the use of stone in the construction of ramparts, this recommendation by itself cannot make him later than Megasthenes, because the use of stone ramparts for cities dates as far back as the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. Says Prof. Rhys Davids, "we have an extant example of stone walls surrounding a hill-fortress before the 6th century B.C. at Giribbaja (the capital of Magadha before Pāṭaliputra)."

3. Prof. Winternitz points out that Megasthenes states that a private person was not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant, as these animals were the special property of the king, and that Kauṭilya is silent about it; and because in the later work *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Vasantasenā owns elephants, Kauṭilya's silence has

Re. Prohibition as to possession of horses, etc., by private individuals.

been taken by Prof. Winternitz as indicative of the later age of the composition of the *Arthaśāstra*. But it should be remembered that even in the Vedic period individuals were allowed to possess horses; for otherwise, the *Ṛg Veda* (x. 62,8) would not have contained a *dānastuti* in which Manu is praised for making a gift of one hundred horses, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (v. 5,4,35) would not have laid down that a draught-mare may be the sacrificial fee. Apart from these pieces of Vedic evidence, Megasthenes himself records the case of an owner of a white elephant, from whom the king of the Indians tried to wrest it but failed until the owner was killed (Frag. liii). Again, in Frag. lvi, he refers to a half-wild Indian community 'employing these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regarding them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle.' Arrian states 'that the animals used by the common sort (of Indians) for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy used elephants' [Arrian's *Indika* (McCrindle's translation) ch. xvii]. The *Arthaśāstra* also has a passage speaking of mares belonging to the citizens and the country people (ii, 30 '*paurajānapadānāmarthena vṛṣā baḍabāsvāyojyāḥ*).

4. Prof. Winternitz points out that according to Megasthenes, women follow the king when

he is going out to hunt, that armed women accompany him on war-chariots, horses, or elephants, both in his hunting expeditions and into battle, and he adds that anybody approaching the women is killed ; but Kauṭilya knows only of men who accompany the king when going out for hunting. That there were armed women to guard the king's person is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* i, 21 *strīgaṇair dhanvibhiḥ parigṛhyeta* ; it is also found that women accompanied the king on chariots and other conveyances with umbrella, pitcher, or fan in hand (*Ibid.*, 17) and his route at the time of hunting expedition, etc., or march to battle was guarded on both sides by armed men and persons belonging to '*daśavarga*.' The expression used by the author is '*daśavargikādhiṣṭhitāni*,' which may refer as well to women-guards belonging to *daśavarga*. In these circumstances, I do not think there is such a difference between Megasthenes and the author of the *Arthaśāstra* as to warrant the inference that one is chronologically posterior to the other.

Re. Female guards.

5. I do not understand why Prof. Winternitz has attached so much importance to Megasthenes' remark that there was no slavery in India. Mr. Smith points out in his *Early History of India* (p. 100) that in "reality mild praedial and domestic slavery seems to have been an institution in most

parts of India from very remote times," and that Strabo on the authority of Onesikritos shows that "other authors do not seem to be justified in ascertaining that slavery was unknown everywhere in India." Dr. Fick on the authority of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Jātakas* show, that slavery was not unknown in India. Megasthenes substantially agrees with Kauṭilya because the latter says that no Aryan could be slave (*na tvevāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ* —*Arthaśāstra*, iii, 13) except in times of extreme difficulty, while the Mlecchas could be slaves.

Re. Slavery in India.

6. The duties of the four castes according to Kauṭilya are found at pp. 7, 8 of the *Arthaśāstra.* There the duties of the Vaiśyas are enumerated as study, performance of sacrifices, charities, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. If the duties peculiar to a caste are not performed by the people belonging to it, then according to Kauṭilya, the society is ruined by confusion of castes (*lokaḥ saṅkarāducchidyeta*). And hence the king is advised to keep each caste attached to its own duties. It was, therefore, normal for the Kṣattriyas to take to the military profession, and abnormal for the people of the other castes to adopt it. It was only by way of exception that they could take it up. This hardening of caste duties had already come into being in the

Re. Indian agriculturists' part in war and harm, if any, done to their lands in war.

Vedic period. In Vedic literature, 'the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣattriyas appear as practically confined to their own professions of sacrifice, and military or administrative functions' (*Vedic Index*, ii, 260). The Vaiśya was really an agriculturist. Pastoral pursuits and agriculture must have been their normal occupations (*Ib.*, ii, 333, 334).

Kauṭilya does not speak well of Brāhmaṇa soldiers, and approves Vaiśyas and Śūdras as composing an army provided they be very strong physically (*Arthaśāstra*, ix, 2). Hence, Megasthenes is in substantial agreement with Kauṭilya in his remark that the agriculturists never took part in war or in other public services. That their accounts do not tally in every detail is, in my opinion, due to inaccuracy in the description left by the Greek ambassador who in spite of his long stay could not realise fully the spirit and details of the beliefs and institutions of the Hindus. That the land of the Indian agriculturists was never devastated in war is also an inaccuracy of the sort pointed out by Dr. Schwanbeck (McCrindle's Introduction, p. 27) such as Vipāsā pouring its waters into the Irāvatī, enumeration of the seven castes, mistaken account of the Indian gods, etc.; for it is impossible that a war should take place on a tract of land without any harm to the agriculturists of the locality, or that they would not suffer at all by the evils that come in its train.

Comparison of accounts of administration given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya.

7. A comparison of the accounts of administration as given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya shows that the question of their agreement or difference turns on the following points, *viz.* :—

I. Whether or not the substantive duties performed by the officers were identical or almost identical.

II. Whether or not the particular officers with their respective duties in the one account agree with the officers with their respective duties in the other account.

Comparison of substantive duties.

Re. I. The duties mentioned by Megasthenes (Frag. xxxiv) are almost identical with those in the *Kauṭilīya.* If we put together the substantive duties one after another as given in Megasthenes without mention of the officers by whom they were performed, we get a sketch which might well be missed as one drawn from the *Kauṭilīya.* The parallel passages so far as they are available from the *Ārthaśāstra* are noted within parantheses by the side of the passages taken from Megasthenes :—

(A). *Outside the city—*

Superintending the rivers (*cf. Artha.* ii, 6—reference to *nadīpāla* for looking after the rivers ; ii, 28—reference to rules for fording and crossing rivers; reference also to rules enforced at port-towns (*paṇya-pattana-cāritram*);

Measurement of land (*cf. Artha.* ii, 35—*re.* cadastral survey; see my *Studies*, pp. 112, 113);

Inspection of the sluices of the main canals for passage of water into the branches (*cf. Studies*, pp. 11 ff.; also my remarks *supra*);

Control over huntsmen (*cf. Artha.* ii, 34—control of *vivītādhyakṣa* over the *lubdhakas* with their hounds);

Collection of taxes (*cf. Artha.* ii, 6 *re.* collection of many kinds of taxes);

Superintendence of the wood-cutters, carpenters, black-smiths, and the miners (*cf. Artha.* ii, 17 *re.* wood-cutters; iv, 1 *re.* artisans generally; ii, 12 *re.* miners and workers in metals; see also *Studies*, pp. 5-11).

(B). *Inside the city*[1]—

(1) Looking after the industrial arts;

(2) Supervision of manufactured articles and their sale by public notice keeping separate the old and the new articles. *Re.* (1) and (2) for the supervision, *cf. Artha.* ii, 15; 17; 23; 24; 12.

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[1] The order of the items has been changed a little for convenience.

See iv, 2 for prevention of sale of inferior articles as superior with the mention of punishment for the offence. That the enhancement of price due to bidding was resorted to is found in the *Artha.* ii, 6—*krayasaṅgharṣe vṛddhirityāyaḥ*);

(3) Supervision of trade and commerce, weights and measures, timely sale of products by public notice, and collection of double tax for dealing in more than one commodity. (*Cf. Artha.* ii, 16 *re. paṇyādhyakṣa*; ii, 19 *re. Pautavādhyakṣa*; iv, 2 *re.* regulation of prices; as there were separate impositions on different articles, more than one tax had to be paid for dealing in more than one article. There is no reason why double tax should exempt one who deals in, say, ten commodities, from paying tax on all the ten articles. There is nothing in the *Kauṭilīya* to support this view, and I think Megasthenes' statement is inaccurate);

(4) Collection of the tenths of prices. (*Cf. Artha.* ii, 22);

(5) Taking care of foreigners. (*Cf. Artha.* ii, 36—ref. to provision for giving lodgings to travellers. Megasthenes' statement that their modes of life were watched may well be inferred from the system of espionage described in the *Arthaśāstra*. Two other details about them added by Megasthenes, *viz.*, escorting them when leaving the country, and sending their property to their relatives in the event of their death are

not found in Kauṭilya. But there are in the *Kauṭilīya* other details about the treatment of foreigners, regarding which Megasthenes is silent, *e.g.*, the foreigners could not ordinarily be sued, and foreign commerce was encouraged. This shows that they used to get good treatment);

(6) Recording particulars about births and deaths (*cf. Artha.* ii, 36);

(C). *Charge of matters of general interest, e.g.* :—

(1) Repair of buildings. (*cf. Artha.* i, 4—the sovereign as the administrator of *daṇḍanīti* has to look to *yogakṣema* of material interests, including preservation of properties. *Labdhaparirakṣaṇī* included in *daṇḍanīti* also points to the preservation of properties. Repair of buildings for their preservation falls, therefore, within the limits of the duties of Government. There is a reference to repair of *durga* in Bk. ii, 4 (p. 57);

(2) Regulation of prices (*cf. Artha.* iv, 2);

(3) Care of markets (*cf. Artha.* ii, 16; 11, 19; iv, 2);

(4) Care of harbours (*cf.* mention of *Pattanādhyakṣa* and *Paṇyapattanacāritra* in ii, 28); and

(5) Care of Temples (*cf.* mention of *Devatādhyakṣa* in ii, 6);

(D). *As regards the military department, the duties are enumerated as follows* :—

(1) Those of the Admiral of the Fleet (*cf.*

Artha. ii, 28—Nāvadhyakṣa. Prof. Winternitz takes exception to the identification of the Nāvadhyakṣa with the Admiral of the Fleet of Megasthenes on the ground that Nāvadhyakṣa had to do entirely with fiscal and commercial matters and had no concern with the military. I should like to point out that just in the previous fragment (xxxiii), the Admiral of the Fleet is described by Megasthenes as 'letting out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise.' This shows that his supposition is baseless and the Admiral of the Fleet had to perform both civil and military duties. This is also supported by the contents of the chapter on Nāvadhyakṣa (ii, 28) in the *Arthaśāstra.* There we find the regulation that the pirate-ships should be destroyed and that the ships of an enemy's country illegally crossing its limits as also vessels violating the harbour rules should be similarly treated. The taking of this step would not have been possible, if Nāvadhyakṣa had not under him vessels equipped with armed men to carry out the regulation);

(2) Those of the Superintendent of the bullock-trains for transport (*Artha.* ii, 29—Go'dhyakṣa). The department under Go'dhyakṣa mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* was utilized equally for civil and military purposes just as the departments under Aśvādhyakṣa (ii, 30), Hastyadhyakṣa (ii, 31) and Nāvadhyakṣa (ii, 28) were

meant to serve both the puposes. The Go'dhyakṣa had to take charge not only of bulls and cows but also of buffaloes, asses, camels, mules, sheep, goats and dogs. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions that an army utilizing in a large measure the services of camels, mules, and asses should be marched to fight in a region with scanty rainfall and mire. That there were special arrangements for the transport of provisions, etc., at the time of war is apparent from several passages, *e.g.*, *vīvadhāsaraprasāra*, *i.e.*, transport of supplies (xii, 4), the guarding of the roads for such transport (xiii, 4) use of carts loaded with fuel, grass, grains, etc. (xiii, 4), use of *vraja* (x, 3) including bulls for transport of goods, *vraja* meaning *gomeṣamajāvikaṃ kharoṣṭramaśvāśvatarāśca* (ii, 6). [*cf.* also first paragraph of x, 2.] There were also other uses of bulls, and trains of bulls (*goyūthāni*) for the purposes of war, *viz.*, the harnessing of bulls as well as horses to chariots in the battle-field by a king having a small number of horses (*Artha.* x, 4; also x, 3; x, 6; xii, 4). In the description of the department under Go'dhyakṣa (ii, 29), we find mention of draught oxen, oxen for pulling carts drawn by pairs, and bulls provided with nose-strings and equalling horses in speed and carrying loads. In view of these evidences, it cannot be denied that the bulls used in war were taken from the department under Go'dhyakṣa.

(3) Taking charge of the foot-soldiers (*cf. Artha.* ii, 33—*Pattyadhyakṣa*) ;

(4) Taking charge of the horses (*cf. Artha.* ii, 30—*Aśvādhyakṣa*) ;

(5) Taking charge of the war-chariots (*cf. Artha.* ii, 33—*Rathādhyakṣa*) ;

(6) Taking charge of the elephants (*cf. Artha.* ii, 31, 32—*Hastyadhyakṣa*).

Megasthenes remarks, "There are royal stables for horses and elephants, and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and the horses and elephants to the stables." In the *Arthaśāstra*, we find mention of an *āyudhāgāra* under a Superintendent. It was to this magazine that soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport (*Artha.* v, 3).[1]

Comparison of allocations of duties.

Re. II. The question of allocation of duties to particular officers presents an insuperable difficulty because Megasthenes' statements are extremely vague. He says that officers divided into six bodies of five each looked after the affairs of the city[2] and the same number of bodies of five each looked after the military affairs.[1] A body of five officers had charge of the industrial arts, and another similar body of the manufacture of articles. To draw a boundary line between these two fields of work is impossible in the absence of indications of it from Megasthenes himself. Moreover, his statement is not also clear whether the five officers composing a body could also be members of any other of the six bodies mentioned by him for the performance of the civil duties within the city. In these circumstances, it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion whether the full complement of thirty officers composed the six bodies, or whether a lesser number was required for the pupose. One other obscure point in connection with these bodies is whether one or more superior officers with assistants composed a body, or whether all of them stood on the same footing transacting business by taking charge of particular departments and deciding controversial questions by votes, or by referring to a higher authority or to the king. Had there been a definite number of officers, an attempt could have been made to tally them with those mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, for the latter mentions also quite a number of officers with their allocated duties. In this connection, we should not lose sight of the work of the officials belonging to the *Mantri-pariṣad*, a group that was connected with the state-council but was entirely different from it. Kauṭilya states (i, 15) that the number of ministers composing the *Mantri-pariṣad* is to be commensurate with the strength of the state to retain their services and provide work enough for them all. These ministers looked after their respective charges, their duties being mostly of an executive nature. The king consulted the councillors as a matter of course, calling the members of the *Mantri-parṣad* as well, only in regard to urgent works. (For further particulars, see my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 35, 36.) They could easily have been associated with the heads of the various departments for the proper performance of their respective duties.

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[1] I am thankful to Mr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., for kindly drawing my attention to one or two parallels between the Arthaśāstra and Megasthenes' account.

[2] *Vide* the six divisions of duties under (B).

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[1] *Vide* D (1) to D (6).

It is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* that each department of Government was put under several heads who were transferred from one department to another from time to time (ii, 9—*bahumukhyamanityaṃ cādhikaraṇaṃ sthāpayet*); in a different connection (ii, 4) Kauṭilya states that the departments of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry will be placed under several heads at a time, as by this arrangement they remain under fear of one another and free from liability to intrigues by enemies.

We now find the degree of correspondence between the two accounts in regard to the

Degree of correspondence.

points touched by Megasthenes. It may be objected that the correspondence is due to the fact that the duties mentioned in them were usually performed by the Government officials in ancient India or in every civilized country in those days. The answer to this objection is that there are in the accounts certain features or collocations of features by which the accounts can be singled out as having a common basis, and this basis, by being the object of observation of Megasthenes, belongs to the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya's account by virtue of these common features is also equally old. In the whole history of India, I want to be shown another period, an account of which would agree so far as to be identical or almost identical with the sketch drawn above. There should be in that account, so far as the civil administration is concerned, a provision for the land-survey, compilation of vital statistics, irrigation through canals provided with sluices, superintendence over several classes of artisans together with a very great attention to trade and commerce, development of various industries including mining, regulation of prices of commodities, check on the correctness of weights and measures, and a sympathetic treatment of foreigners. To these should be added the special features of the military department. How is it that the divisions of work in this department should be six, *viz.*, one for each of the *caturaṅgabala*, one for naval defence, and one for transport; and that these six should tally exactly with what we find in the *Arthaśāstra*. Moreover, there is another feature common to the two accounts, *viz.*, that the soldiers had to return the horses and elephants to the stables instead of keeping them under their personal care and had also to return their arms to the magazine. Various other ways of dividing the military duties may be suggested, *e.g.*, the horses and elephants could have been kept under the same officer, or the chariots and elephants under a common officer, and so forth. But we find instead the divisions as sketched above by Megasthenes, and they happen to be identical with the description found in the *Arthaśāstra*. Is it likely that the agreement between the two accounts on so many points should be a case of mere accident, or should be entirely due to the fact that each contains but the features of Indian administration common to it in all periods of ancient Indian history? I should point out that the coincidences noticed here are but a portion of a larger range of agreements bearing on the administration, the personal habits of the king, etc. (*vide* my *Studies* on the points), a few of which have already been touched in this paper. When these also are taken into account, the whole picture assumes an appearance that can never be missed as the panoramic view of any period of Indian history other than what Kauṭilya and Megasthenes profess to speak of.

Difference as as to mining and metallurgy how far real.

Prof. Winternitz on the strength of Dr. Otto Stein's statement points out (p. 20) that there is a difference between Megasthenes' account and the *Arthaśāstra* in regard to metals, mining, and metallurgy. In fact the difference is but in appearance and not in reality, and is due to the fact that in the former we get but a broad outline lacking details which are found in the latter. The details may seem to mark an advance in technical knowledge in comparison with that behind the mere outline, but actually it is not so. Had Megasthenes backed up his generalisations by an *account of the processes* involved in the manufacture "of articles of use and ornaments, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war, and in the exploitation of the underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, gold, silver, copper, and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals," it would have looked similar to the chapters on the subjects in the *Arthaśāstra*. Prof. Winternitz looks upon (p. 20) the references in the *Arthaśāstra* to the use of mercury as a strong proof of the later origin of the work. Says he : "Kauṭilya mentions artificial gold made from other metals by chemical process in which mercury is used." So far as I see, Kauṭilya does not speak of the transmutation of the inferior metals into gold in the *Arthaśāstra*. He details a process, involving the use of mercury, for giving a particular colour to gold. Hence, this portion of his argument hinging on alchemy involving the use of mercury has no force until he points out the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* referring to same. I do not understand why in this connection he states that "Even P. C. Ray in his excellent history of Indian Chemistry, who believes that alchemy is indigenous in India, cannot trace it back any further than the earliest Tāntrik text in the 5th or the 6th century A.D." I should however mention that he does trace it back to the 2nd century A.D. He says, "It is thus clear that all the testimonies concur in ascertaining Nāgārjuna not only as the originator of the Mādhyamika philosophy but also as an adept in magic, conjuration, and alchemy, and that even so early as the 2nd century A. D. The exact time during which he flourished is a matter of controversy. He is generally regarded as a contemporary of Kaniṣka. One cannot go far wrong in assigning circa 150 A. D., as the date of his succeeding to the patriarchate"[1] In another connection, he writes "the progress of magic, witchcraft and alchemy can be traced from the *Atharva Veda* onwards to the later Tantras according to the laws of evolution without any breach of continuity."[1] Prof. Winternitz further remarks that "in medical works, mercury is mentioned only once in Caraka's treatise, once in the Bower MS. (4th cent. A.D.) and twice in the Suśruta. It is entirely unknown in earlier literature." This is adduced by him as one of the reasons why the *Arthaśāstra* should be looked upon as a composition of about that time. Three points should however be considered before we take this conclusion as final :

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[1] *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. II, pp. xx, xxi.

(*i*) There is nothing to show that the medical use of mercury could not be earlier. The line that has been drawn at the 4th century A. D. should always be regarded as a provisional one and not as the boundary line beyond which the knowledge of the use of mercury cannot date back. In my opinion, the right course to adopt in the midst of pieces of evidence like the above would be to keep an open mind for the reception of earlier evidences, should they be available. The criterion of age in this respect being incomplete, it would be better not to draw from it a result which it cannot yield.

(*ii*) Caraka was the official physician of

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[1] *History of Hindu Chemistry*, pp. lxxxv, lxxxvi.

Kaniṣka and should therefore be placed in the 2nd century A.D. It is also known that the extant *Carakasaṃhitā* is a redaction by Dṛḍhabala of the original *Carakasaṃhitā* which was again a redaction of the original work of Agniveśa, the disciple of Ātreya Punarvasu. Hence, there is no reason why the medical use of mercury should not be traced back to at least the 2nd century A. D., instead of the 4th century A.D. It should, however, be pointed out that the use of mercury in the preparation of medicines and its use in metallurgy cannot be said to have come into vogue at about the same time. The metallurgical use of mercury is likely to be earlier. So far as the *Arthaśāstra* is concerned, the date of the medical use of mercury can have no bearing on the date of its composition, so long as it is not shown that Kauṭilya refers to the use of mercury in the preparation of medicines. What Kauṭilya mentions, so far as I see, is only the metallurgical use of mercury and not its medical use.

(*iii*) In view of the fact that the criterion by which to judge the age of the *Arthaśāstra* on the strength of its references to the the use of mercury is incomplete, and considering also the fact that it is not impossible for the use of mercury being earlier, depending as it does upon the chance discoveries of metallurgical treatises named and quoted from in the mediæval works on metallurgy and *rasāyana* (*e.g.*, the *Lohaśāstra* of Patañjali), it will be proper to fix the date of the *Arthaśāstra* by other internal and external evidences and fix the time of the use of mercury as mentioned in the work by its age so determined.

Re. the existence of a rich literature on technical arts, indication of later origin of the Arthaśāstra.

From the nature of the contents of the *Arthaśāstra*, Prof. Winternitz infers it as probable that there were special treatises on the various subjects dealt with in the work, *viz.*, agriculture, mining, mineralogy, chemistry, architecture, military matters, etc., and as it was impossible that one man should have been specialist in all these branches of knowledge, he must have utilized these special treatises. Moreover, Prof. Winternitz thinks that the utilization of these treatises by Kauṭilya in his work is more probable than Prof. Jacobi's suggestion that the minister used the technical knowledge possessed by the officials of the various departments of Government. The reasons relied on by him for inclining to his own view as more probable lie in (1) the opening passage of the *Arthaśāstra*, namely, *pṛthivyā lābhe pālane ca yāvantyarthaśāstrāṇi pūrvācāryaiḥ prasthāpitāni prāyaśastāni saṃhṛtyaikami damarthaśāstraṃ kṛtam.* The word '*Saṃhṛtya*' in the sentence has been translated by Prof. Winternitz into 'extracting and summarizing.' On the basis of this interpretation rests his conclusion that special treatises were incorporated in the *Arthaśāstra* ; (2) the fact that sometimes the same subject has been treated by Kauṭilya in different chapters. In regard to the first reason I want to point out, that the aforesaid rendering of the word '*Saṃhṛtya*' strains too much its meaning. It means nothing more than collecting (for use).[1] In regard to the second reason, I fail to understand why the treatment of the same subject in different chapters would signify the incorporation of special treatises in the *Arthaśāstra.* The same subject may be treated in different connexions in different chapters without any implication at all of the existence of special treatises on the subjects. Even granting for argument's sake that special treatises were used in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* does this admission preclude the probability of Prof. Jacobi's suggestion being true at the same time? While composing the treatise, Kauṭilya may have utilized as well the advice of Government experts under him in regard to the special fields of art or science. It was not also impossible in those days, when the special fields of learning or art were not so wide as they are at present, for men of special capacity to have acquaintance with several of them simultaneously. Hence, it need not be a matter for surprise if Kauṭilya be taken to have written about at least some of the special branches of art treated in the *Arthaśāstra* from his own knowledge of them, supplemented when needed by expert advice. Prof. Winternitz, on the strength of his interpretation of the word *saṃhṛtya* in the passage quoted already, and the repetition of the same subject in different chapters, draws the inference that at the time of the composition of the *Arthaśāstra* there existed a rich literature on economics and all kinds of technical arts. There even existed works on the diseases of trees *gulmavṛkṣāyurveda*). According to him, it is not very probable that such a highly developed technical literature existed in or before the 4th century B.C. Hence, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* must be later. As I have just now pointed out, the aforesaid two grounds for such an inference are not at all sound. Moreover, the evidences before us may warrant the inference that the technical knowledge indicated by them was of an advanced character considering the early period of its development, but they do not support the inference, either affirmative or negative, regarding the existence of a rich literature on economics and all kinds of technical arts. The conclusion may be very tempting but the evidences before us do not enable us to speak with certainty whether the treatises on the subjects just mentioned were two, ten, or more, or none at all, because a great part of the technical knowledge might have been in a floating state simply handed down from the experts to their pupils, not being garnered in any treatise at all. Except the subject of *daṇḍanīti* (polity), the materials on the technical subjects found in the *Arthaśāstra*, if taken separately, would not be sufficient to cover even twenty pages in print. Take, for instance, mining or metallurgy, upon which Kauṭilya has written at some length. The treatment of these subjects covers much less than twenty pages and does not mention any special treatises. I do not deny that the advance made at the early period in the knowledge of the technical subjects was satisfactory. What I contend for is that the evidences in the *Kauṭilīya* do not support the inference drawn by Prof. Winternitz that they indicate the existence of a rich literature on the technical arts, proving thereby the later origin of the *Arthaśāstra*. When the evidences do not warrant any inference either way, we ought to be silent instead of expressing a view which has no sound grounds to support it.

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[1] *Cf.* the use of this root with the prefix in the title of ch. 2, book V, of the (*Arthaśāstra, viz.,* Koṣābhisaṃharaṇam).

Prof. Winternitz propounds the theory that the Arthaśāstra was originally taught in the schools of Dharmaśāstra among the 'duties of

Re. Prof. Winternitz's theory that Arthaśāstras had their origin in the schools of the Dharmaśāstras.

the king,' but at some time, it branched off from the Dharmaśāstra and was taught in separate schools of Arthaśāstra, the reason being that the same teachers appear in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere as authors of both Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. The branching off of the Arthaśāstra from the Dharmaśāstra has been taken as indicating the later origin of the Arthaśāstra, for the Dharmaśāstras presuppose a period of Dharmasūtras written in the sūtra style. But Prof. Winternitz ignores that the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* itself refers to the existence of *vārttā* (economics) and *daṇḍa-nīti* (polity) as separate branches of learning which developed very likely in separate schools, and the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra utilized the results of the study of these two branches of learning in those schools. There are evidences in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* showing that treatises on polity made use of the sūtra-style. This together with the existence of separate works on polity in the sūtra-style, *e.g.*, the *Cāṇakya-sūtra* and *Bṛhaspati-sūtra* make it very probable that there was a sūtra-period in the development of treatises on polity just as there was a sūtra-period in the development of the law-codes like Manu. It is not therefore likely at all that Arthaśāstras should branch off from the Dharmaśāstras. It was in the treatises on *daṇḍanīti* and *vārttā* that full treatments could be made of the subjects of polity and economics. The Dharmaśāstras devote only a very small space to the treatment of those subjects, because a full treatment of the two subjects was not the province of a code of law. It would therefore be proper to hold the view that the Arthaśāstras and the Dharmaśāstras developed on parallel lines, and just as the Dharmaśāstras had a sūtra-period, so also the branches of learning, *vārttā* and *daṇḍanīti*, utilized by the Arthaśāstras, passed through a similar sūtra-period and could well have been contemporaneous with the works of the corresponding stages of development of the Dharmaśāstras.

Re. the statement that Arthaśāstras had nothing to do with religious matters.

Prof. Winternitz observes that the term Arthaśāstra shows that it has nothing to do with religious matters. Here he ignores the close connection that *daṇḍanīti* (polity) forming a part and parcel of the Arthaśāstra has with the ideal of the state, which consists in this that the state under the direction of the sovereign should lead the people under its protection to the final goal of human existence, *viz.*, fulfilment of *dharma*, and emancipation, furnishing at the same time the means therefor. Space does not permit me to deal at length with the ways in which the religious beliefs and ceremonies inter-penetrated the whole system of ancient Hindu polity, and for the matter of that, the Arthaśāstra of which it forms the subject-matter. Prof. Winternitz himself has dwelt on (pp. 24, 25) the 'brāhmaṇical religiosity' of Kauṭilya as also the 'brāhmaṇical veneer' of the social and political system, of which Kauṭilya speaks. The evidences on which he relies have been culled from no other treatise than the *Arthaśāstra*. Moreover, as I have already mentioned, inspite of the unscrupulous means recommended against those persons or subjects who were found to be seditious or inimical to the sovereign, or against the unjust and hostile states, there was a wide field for the operation of the moral and humane principles both in internal and external politics. I do not therefore see how Prof. Winternitz's observation quoted above can be correct (see in this connection ch. ix of my '*Aspects*').

Whether the Buddhists hated to have anything to do with the Arthaśāstra.

It is further stated by him that because the Arthaśāstra teaches the methods of achieving material success without caring to see whether or not they agree with religion and morality, the Buddhists would never have anything to do with the Arthaśāstra. I may mention that there were in India many Buddhist kings and emperors who had to successfully deal with all political matters including questions of diplomacy and inter-state policy. It is yet to be seen that kingdoms and empires can be conducted without the necessity of applying ways and means, which are not questionable, judged by the standard of private morality. That the Buddhist kings and heads of clans could carry on their administration, and dealings with other states, in such a strictly moral way, is more than what any scholar can prove. In fact, Buddha prohibits only the Buddhist bhikkhus and not the Buddhist laymen to participate in talks about kings, their military expeditions, etc. On the other hand, as regards Buddhist laymen (see *e.g.*, *Dīgha Nikāya*), it is very probable that they used to participate in political matters quite as much as the Hindus used to do, with certain restrictions as to the destruction of animal life in peaceful times, etc., which the Buddhist social code prescribed. The mention of 'Arthavidyā' in the list of arts and sciences in the *Lalitavistara* makes it probable that it corresponded to the Arthaśāstra of the Hindus. The Jainas with their strict moral and social code, more rigid in some directions than that of the Buddhists, did not hesitate to write on polity, *e.g.*, Hemachandra's *Arhan-nīti* and Somadeva Sūri's *Nītivākyāmṛta*. Within the small space devoted by Hemachandra to politics proper in his work, in which he pays greater attention to civil and criminal law, he recommends the use of *sāma, dāna, bheda, daṇḍa* quite in the same way as a Hindu writer on polity would have done. He enjoins that war should be carried on boldly, and in this recommendation the Jaina scruple regarding the destruction of life caused in wars does not debar him from writing it. Again in Somadeva Sūri's work we find it laid down as among the duties of a *dūta* to take to *upajāpa* (*cf. Artha.*), send *tīkṣṇapuruṣa* (a class of spies) [*cf. Artha.*], and have resort to several such means for achieving success. He also mentions *upajāpa* and the sending of *tīkṣṇapuruṣa* as among the means of wresting a citadel during wars. The reason why these acts were not regarded as conflicting with the hostile people or states were looked upon as constituting a field where, to a certain extent, these acts were considered quite appropriate. If again, Kāmandakī be a Buddhist, as some scholars think, then it would negative the proposition that the Buddhists had nothing to do with the Arthaśāstra which includes *daṇḍanīti* as part of its subject-matter.

I do not understand why Prof. Winternitz limits the meaning of *kāma*, the third member of the *trivarga* to merely the fulfilment of sexual desire by following the dictates of love (p. 1). The word 'Kāma' had a much wider signification even in the Vedic period. For instance, in the

Re. the rendering of the third member of the *trivarga.*

Ṛg Veda, vii, 62, 3; 97, 4; viii 21, 6, we find the uses of the word in connexion with prayers for the fulfilment of either desires generally, or those for wealth, strength, etc.; also in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, ii, 2, 3, 1 which says, 'He who does not attain his desires (kāma) should offer a cake on eight potsherds to Agni as desire!' In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 5, 1, 12 we find a passage in connexion with the offering of oblations in a sacrifice enjoining that they may be offered by one who is annādyakāma *i.e.*, desirous of having food, etc. Even in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (ii, 11), kāma has been taken to include the pleasures of all the five senses in addition to the meaning in which Prof. Winternitz takes it: *Śrotratvakcakṣur jihvāghrāṇānām-ātmasaṃyuktena manasādhisṭhitānāṃ sveṣu sveṣu viṣayeṣvānukūlyataḥ pravṛttiḥ kāmaḥ.*

Conclusion.

A feature of the paper that has struck me as requiring special comment is how Prof. Winternitz has been hyper-critical in dealing with the evidences or arguments pointing to the early composition of the Arthaśāstra as it states itself to be, while his critical sense relaxes its rigidity in the ready reception of evidences that may appear as favouring his idea of the later composition of the treatise. As instances of the former, I may mention the nice distinction drawn by him between schools and individuals in connexion with his treatment of 'Iti Kauṭilyaḥ' (p. 16), his arguments based on the very name of Kauṭilya (Crookedness), the readiness with which he attaches importance to some of the statements of Dr. Otto Stein without assaying their real worth, *e.g.*, regarding slavery in India, milestones on roads, possession of horses and elephants by private individuals, lands of agriculturists remaining unharmed in war, etc. As illustrations of the latter, I should point out how from the strained meaning of *saṃhṛtya* in the passage already cited, he concludes the existence of a rich literature on economics and technical arts betokening the later origin of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra; how he tries to explain away (p. 23) the early existence of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra by remarking that they were nothing but mere didactic poetry in which Dharma and Artha were taught, though they are expressly mentioned as part of the curriculum of study meant for the education of the prince; how he does not hesitate to include the philosophical systems of Vedanta and Pūrvamīmāṃsā in Trayī in spite of the fact that Trayī has been expressly defined by Kauṭilya as meaning only the three Vedas,—Sāma, Ṛk, Yajur excluding from the category the Atharva and Itihāsa Vedas (*cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 6, 7, 1; vi, 3, 1, 13; *Taitt. Br.*, 1, 2, 1, 26);

how the mere way of arguing by pūrvapakṣa and uttarapakṣa is thought sufficient to warrant the supposition of Kauṭilya's acquaintance with the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system of philosophy; how he concludes that Lokāyata contained in itself the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy in their early stages on no other ground than that this sort of origin of the systems is not an impossibility and that Kauṭilya's ignorance of the systems of philosophy except Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata is difficult to believe. I do not realize why he does not here resort to the same mode of reasoning as he has done in regard to silence on certain points in the *Indika* of Megasthenes *viz.*, that the systems of philosophy not mentioned by Kauṭilya did not come into being as such at the time of composition of the *Arthaśāstra* (4th century B.C.). There are Western scholars who in fact are of opinion that the four systems of philosophy not named in the *Arthaśāstra* came into existence at varying dates after the 4th century B.C., *e.g.*, Prof. Jacobi placing the composition of the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā Sūtras after 200 A.D. (*J. A. O. S.*, xxxi, 1 ff.) and Prof. Garbe placing the composition of the Nyāya Sūtras in 150 B.C. and the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras after 200 A.D. But Prof. Winternitz is so much obsessed with the idea of the composition of the Arthaśāstra about the the 3rd century A.D. that he must try to reconcile the silence of the treatise about the names of the four systems with its composition in the 3rd century A.D. by supposing that the author of the work must have had knowledge of the said systems. I do not understand how Lokāyata could give rise to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika because there are points of radical difference between the former and the latter two, *e.g.* (1) 'Lokāyata allows only perception as the means of knowledge and rejects inference' while in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika 'inference is the only reliable means of attaining philosophical knowledge overshadowing the other three sources of knowledge' of which perception is one ; (2) according to Lokāyata, the soul is only the physical body plus the attribute of intelligence, while Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika believe in the existence of infinite and eternal souls (see *E. R. E.* under Lokāyata, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika).

The object of this paper is but to review the arguments set forth by Prof. Winternitz to make good his contention that the *Arthaśāstra* was composed in the 3rd century A.D. Hence I have not had occasion here to deal with many evidences not touched by Prof. Winternitz favouring the view that the *Arthaśāstra* was composed by Kauṭilya in the 4th century B.C. Many of these evidences are to be found in the preface to the English translation of the *Arthaśāstra* and in the preface to my *Studies.*

These evidences relate to the social customs, political practices, religious observances, archaic style and vocabulary, names of deities, correspondence with Asokan edicts, etc., as also the mark of a strong personality traceable in many portions of the treatise. We expected a balanced treatment of the evidences from Prof. Winternitz, but the one placed before us leaves much to be desired.

Notes on the
Commerce and Industries of Bengal

Before the Christian era.

It has been justly remarked by Sir W. Hunter that "from the earliest days, India has been a trading country. The industrial genius of her inhabitants, even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea-board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands. In contrast with the Arabian peninsula on the west, with the Malaya peninsula on the east, or with the equally fertile empire of China, India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe."[1] It will be seen from the following account that Bengal is entitled to a goodly share of the tribute of praise thus offered to India as a whole. The evidences collected here are of a diverse character, some testifying to its manufactured products, some to its raw materials in which trade could be carried on, and others, direct or indirect, to its internal or external commerce.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that of the articles brought as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice, Bengal contributed "elephants with large *tusks* and *rich caparisons*[1]. "Large elephants and horses, and much gold and curiously-wrought seats and litters, and beds made of ivory and inlaid with gold and jewels; also suits of armour, weapons of various kinds, war-chariots hung with tiger skins and decorated with gold, different sorts of arrows and housings for elephants"[2] were presented by the princes of the "eastern tribes" which, according to Prof. H. H. Wilson, might include the people of Bengal[3]. In the list of valuables in the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya, we find mention of these fabrics of Vaṅga (Bengal) and Pauṇḍra (part of South Behar and Bengal)[4] :—The white and glossy *Dukūla* (very fine cloth made of the inner bark of *Dukūla* plant[5]) of Bengal, and the black and gem-like glossy *Dukūla* of Pauṇḍra with five kinds of each of them; *Kṣauma* (linen) and *Patrorṇā* (cloth made of the kinds of fibres mentioned below in f.n. 3) of Pauṇḍra with their varieties[1]; *Kauṣeya* (silk) of the same place, and *Kārpāsika* (cotton fabrics) of Bengal classed among the best that India could produce. Reference is made to *Chīnabhūmija-Chīnapaṭṭas* (a sort of Chinese cloth made in China for Indian consumption)[2] hinting most probably at the Sino-Indian trade in silk fabrics alluded to by the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3]. I may mention that though China was famous from very early times for its silk, the silk-worm appears to be "as much an indigenous native of India as of China like several other products, and among them, that most vital one—rice.[4] The *Kārpāsika* (cotton fabric) mentioned above is also an indigenous manufacture of this country, "India being, according to our knowledge, its accredited birth-place. In one of the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*, said to have been written fifteen centuries before our Christian era, reference is made to *cotton in the loom*, at which early date, therefore, it must have acquired some considerable footing."[1] To return from this digression : the *Arthaśāstra*[2] mentions *Gauḍikaṃ rūpyaṃ*, i. e, silver from Gauḍa the central part of Bengal as one of the varieties of the metal then prevalent. The use of the precious metals provided important industries in the times of Chandragupta Maurya[3] and earlier,[4] and from this it is reasonable to infer that the silver mines of Gauḍa might have supplied a field for the investment of Bengal labour and capital.

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[1] Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 3rd ed., p. 958.

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, vol. 7, p. 144,—H. H. Wilson, '*Notes on the Sabhā-Parva of the Mahābhārata.* See *Mbh.*, *Sabhā-Parva*, ch. 52, ślks. 18-21.

[2] Corresponding to *Mbh.*, *loc. cit.*, ślks. 32-35.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 143, 144; cf. R. L. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, vol. I, p. 172; C. V. Vaidya uses the passage in his *Epic India*, p. 238 (ch. xi on trade and industries).

[4] Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, under *Pauṇḍra.*

[5] See Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, for the above meanings of *Dukūla* &c.

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[1] The fibres for making *Patrorṇā* are extracted from *Nāga* (*Mesua Roxburghii* &c.), *Likucha* (*Artocarpus Lacucha*), *Bakula* (*Mimusops Elengi*), and *Vata* (*Ficus Indica*), which give rise to these colours respectively in the fabrics, viz., yellow, wheat, white, and fresh butter.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, *Koṣapraveśya-ratna-parīkṣā*, pp. 80, 81.

[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 40, ślk. 23. Cf. Kālidāsa's '*Śakuntalā*', 1, 29 and '*Kumārasambhava*, vii, 3.

[4] Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 42. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. vi,—T. W. Helfer, *On the Indigenous Silk-Worms of India*, p. 40.

To these should be added the consideration that "there is every possibility," as Mr. Monahan[5] says, "that from an early date in the Maurya period, the *administration, the laws, and the general state of civilisation of the greater part of Bengal* were the same as those portrayed by Megasthenes in his description of Chandragupta's empire" and corroborated by Kauṭilya. The significance of this statement lies in the application of the more or less same economic conditions as those depicted in Megasthenes and specially in Kauṭilya to the greater part of Bengal regarding, for instance, the state-supervision of the agriculturists, cattle-rearers, manufacturers, artisans, traders, money-lenders, functional castes, and others upon whom depended the economic welfare of the country, the state-regulation of the market, the amount of private enterprise at work and the encouragement it received from the state, the guilds, the concessions to foreign merchandise for fostering foreign commerce, the hold of customs upon the people's economic activities and so forth. There are two other considerations which have a bearing upon the economic situation of Bengal: The first, which is practically certain, and must have contributed to the importance, wealth and civilisation of Bengal under the Maurya empire and its close connection with the capital of the empire, is that the river Ganges, which flows through Bengal before reaching the sea, must have been one of the principal channels of the sea-borne commerce of the empire"[1] and the second that trade routes[2] running east and west through the Maurya empire facilitated the commercial intercourse between Bengal and the imperial capital or other parts of the empire.

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, vol. 17 (1860),—J. A. Mann, *On the Cotton Trade of India*, p. 347. P. T. S. Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p. 27.

[2] '*Arthaśāstra*,' *Akṣaśālāyām Suvarṇādhyakṣa*, p. 86.

[3] & [4] See my *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, vol. 1, pp. 5-11, and P. T. S. Iyengar, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29. In the former Megasthenes has been quoted.

[5] *Bengal Past and Present* ("Early History of Bengal" by Mr. F. J. Monahan, I. C. S.) 1916, pp. 53, 54.

1st century A.D.

It is stated by Macpherson[3] that Egyptian vessels sailed to Patala (in Sindh) and a few traders went as far as the Ganges in 14 A.D. most probably by the Royal Higwhay that extended across the country from the Indus to the Ganges.

Our information regarding Bengal in the latter half of the first century A. D. is comparatively detailed, supplied as it is by the *Periplus*. From the market towns Tyndis (probably Ponnani), Nelcynda (Kottayam in Travancore) &c., were exported large quantities of silk cloth and Gangetic spikenard (*Nardostachys Jatamansi* valued for its aroma).[1] According to Mr. W. H. Schoff, the former was the exclusive manufacture of China,[2] but as we have seen above,[3] it was as much a production of Bengal, though of course the latter might have differed from the former in quality. The Gangetic spikenard was brought from the Himalayas to the market-town of the same name as that of the river Ganges and situated on its bank, i.e., Gānge (Saptagrāma).[4] Muslins of the finest sort called Gangetic, pearls, and malabothram (Bengali *Tejpātā*) were also carried to the town and exported thence.[5] The Muslins, in Mr. Schoff's opinion, were the productions of the Dacca district and most delicate of all the fabrics of India, so much so that their test lay in drawing them through a finger-ring. For this fineness, the Romans called them *Ventus textilis* or *Nebula.*[1]

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[1] Mr. F. J. Monahan in *Bengal Past and Present*, 1916, p. 55 (with some changes for adaptation to the present context).

[2] *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, vol. 1, pp. 69, 70 (on the authority of Kauṭilya).

[3] D. Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* (1805), vol. 1, p. 139. This passage forming part of a similie in the *Milinda-Pañha* (S.B.E.) Pt. II, p. 269, is interesting owing to its reference to sea-voyage to Bengal: "As ship-owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vaṅga, or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place ,where ships do congregate.' "

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[1] The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, Schoff's ed., p. 45 text.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 222 (notes).

[3] Vide *supra*, the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*.

[4] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 47 (text). It is identified with Tāmralipti in his notes, p. 255, but Saptagrāma (modern Sātgāon) gives a more probable identification (Mr. N. L. Dey in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 614, 615, *History of the District of Hughli*).

[5] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 47 (text).

The Gangetic pearls were of an inferior quality, "being small, often irregular, and usually reddish.[2]" Gold mines are said to have existed in a place near the aforesaid market-town.[3] Mr. Schoff infers that the place was probably none other than the Chota Nagpur plateau.[4] Gold was also brought from Assam and Northern Burma through Tipperah (in Bengal).[5]

1st and 2nd centuries.

Pliny speaks of the metal and precious stones of Bengal: "As touching rivers that afford precious stones, Acesines and Ganges are the chief, and, of all lands, India is the principal.[6]" Diamonds were produced, according to Ptolemy's testimony, in a 'locality situated on the Ganges' considered by Prof. V. Ball to have been probably Chota Nagpur.[7]

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[1] Schoff, *op. cit.*, notes, pp. 256ff., containing many other details regarding muslins.

[2] According to Dr. Taylor's *Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus* in *J.A.S.B.*, Jan. 1847, pp. 23, 24 as quoted in Schoff, *op. cit.*, text, p. 256.

[3] Schoff, *op. cit.*, notes, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, notes, p. 258.

[5] *Ibid.*, notes, p. 259.

[6] Pliny's *Natural History* (translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1601), vol. ii, p. 632.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 13 (1884), p. 236.

Of the commercial towns of note in Bengal in those days, we get the names of Gānge[1] and Tamalites.[2] These were great emporia of trade and centres for export and import of merchandise to and from other places in India as well as foreign countries. There were necessarily several trade-routes both by land and water for their inter-communication.[3] In the language of Pliny "when ye are over Ganges, the first region upon the coast that you set foot into is that of the Gangaridæ. . . . . . Some apply themselves to tillage and husbandry: others set their minds upon martial feats: one sort of them practise merchant's trade transporting their own commodities into other countries and bringing in foreign merchandise into their own."[4]

5th century.

There is no substantial notice,[5] so far as I see, of the commerce or industries of Bengal in the third and the fourth centuries A. D. From the *Jātakas*[6] we have vague references to caravans going east or west, of which probably a larger portion went in the latter direction. Traffic in the east was largely effected by water down the Ganges to Campā (Bhagalpur) and perhaps further. It is suggested by the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (vi, 32-35, Fausboll's ed.) that the Ganges was navigable from Campā up to the sea.[1] Tāmralipti continued to be a sea-port.[2]

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[1] & [2] *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, pp 364, 365, and *Periplus.*

[3] E.g. Schoff, *op. cit.*, notes, p. 272; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 364; R. L. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, vol. 1, p. 292.

[4] Pliny's *Natural History*, vol. 1, p. 126 (translated by Philemon Holland). Cf. W. Vincent's *Commerce of the Ancients*, vol. 11, p. 460.

[5] Only Tāmralipti, for insance, is mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (iii, 33).

[6] Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 200, 201.

7th century.

It was at Tāmralipti that the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found wonderful articles of value, and gems in abundance, from which he inferred its people in general to have been very rich.[3] Samataṭa was regularly cultivated and was rich in crops, flowers, and fruits.[4]

The Arab merchant Sulaiman, who made

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 870, 871, Mr. Rhys Davids, *Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India.* It also contains a list of specimens of manufacture mentioned in the *Jātakas.*

[2] J. Legge's *Fa-Hien* p. 100. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* (6th C. A.D.) speaks of diamonds of Bengal found on the banks of the Veṇā and in Pauṇḍra, the former being very pure and the latter grey [*J. R. A. S.*, vol. vii, N. S., 1875, pp. 125, 126].

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records, etc.*, vol. II, p. 201. I-Tsing came here in 673 A. D. Takakusu's ed. of I-Tsing's *Record etc.*, pp. xvii xxxiii, xxxiv.

[4] Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 199.

several voyages to India in the middle of the 9th century A. D., speaks of a place called Ruhmi (a locality of Dacca according to Sir H. M. Elliot) where "a stuff was made not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of cotton, and, we have seen a piece of it. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *Samara*, of which *madabas* are made."[1]

9th century.

Ibn Khurdadba, an Arab Geographer of the beginning of the 10th century A. D., also mentions Rahmi (Ruhmi) as the place producing cotton cloths and aloe wood.[2]

10th century.

Chao Ju-Kua, a Chinese traveller, who collected his notes about India in 1211 A. D., records that the country of Pingkalo (Bengala) "produced superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton and other cloths."[3]

13th century.

Bengal about this time underwent a change of sovereignty, its Hindu rulers having submitted to the Muhammadans. The Muslim religion, according to Robertson, contributed greatly towards the increase of commercial intercourse by land with Mecca where an annual fair was held and hosts of pilgrims from distant lands flocked to the place in obedience to the Prophet's injunction. The manufactures of India formed a capital article in the transactions, and caravans returned thence loaded with the *muslins and chintzes of Bengal* together with various other Indian commodities to disseminate them through every part of Asia and Africa.[1]

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[1] Elliot's *History of India* (ed. by Prof. J. Dowson), vol. i. p. 5 and Appendix, p. 361.

[2] Elliot, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

[3] *J. R A. S.*, 1896, p. 495, *Chao-Ju-Kua's Ethnography* &c., by F. Hirth, Ph. D.

Marco Polo informs us that the people of Bengal "grew cotton in which they drove a great trade, and also spices such as spikenard, galingale, ginger, sugar, and many other sorts."[2]

14th century.

Ibn Batuta refers to Bengal as an extensive and plentiful country and says that he had never seen a place where provisions were so cheap.[3] By the "Blue River," he adds, one would travel to Bengal and Laknauti. Upon it were gardens, mills, and villages which it refreshed like the Nile of Egypt.[4]

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[1] W. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on Ancient India*, sec. iii, para. 53.

[2] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 115.

[3] Lee's *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 194. Ibn Batuta was at Muhammad Tughlak's court in 1334-42 A. D.

[4] Lee's *op. cit.*, p. 197.

15th century.

A goodly piece of information regarding the kingdom of Pang-kola (Bengala) is furnished by the Chinese compiler Mahuan in his account written at the commencement of the 15th century. He speaks of it as [an extensive country with abundance of products and a numerous population professing the Muhammadan religion. There were the rich-built ships for carrying on commerce with foreign nations. Many were engaged in trade, a good many in agriculture, while others in arts and crafts. The country yielded two crops of rice a year, and a peculiar kind of the same staple with long, wiry, and red grains, wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, vegetables of several sorts in abundance, many kinds of fruits such as plantain, mango, pomegranate, and jack-fruit. Sugarcane, granulated sugar, white sugar and various candied and preserved fruits are also available. Three or four kinds of wines were manufactured, the cocoanut, rice, tarry, and kadjang. Guests were offered betelnut instead of tea. The streets were well provided with shops. There were manufactured 5 or 6 kinds of fine cotton fabrics (muslins), one of which called Pi-chih was of soft texture, 3 feet wide and 56 or 57 feet long. A closely woven, strong, ginger-yellow fabric called Man-che-ti, about 4 feet wide and 50 feet long was also produced.

Another fabric called Sha-na-kieh was 5 feet broad and 20 feet long, while Hin-pei-tung-ta-li was 3 feet by 60 feet, with gauze-like appearance, and meshes of its texture open and regular. It was much used for turbans. Sha-ta-urh 2 feet 5 or 6 inches by 40 feet or more resembled the Chinese San-so, while Mo-hei-mo-leh, 4 feet by 20 feet or more, had a facing on both sides 4 to 5 tenths (presumbly of an inch) thick (wide ?).

The silkworms and mulberry tree were found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold painted ware, basins, cups, steel guns, knives, and scissors were all to be had in the place. White paper smooth and glossy like a deer's skin was manufactured from the bark of a tree. The king fitted out ships and sent them to foreign countries to trade. Pearls and precious stones were sent as presents to China.][1]

The reputation of Ormuz as a great sea-port dates back to the 1st century of the Christian era, and that it had commercial connections with many distant lands like Bengal is a matter of inference. Abdur-Razzak expressly mentions that merchants of seven climates made their way to the port, and those of Bengal among

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, (1895), *Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengal* by George Phillips, pp. 529-533.

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other countries arrived here with their rare and precious articles.[1]

16th century.

The account left by Varthema who visited Bengal in the 1st decade of this century represents [it as abounding in grain, flesh of every kind, sugar, ginger, and cotton more than any country in the world. Richest merchants assembled here and fifty ships were laden every year with cotton and silk stuffs (*Bairam*, *Namone*, *Lizati*, *Cianter*, *Doazar* and *Sinabaff*) which were taken to all parts of India as also to Turkey, Syria, Persia, Arabia Felix, and Ethiopia. The traveller came across jewel-dealers of diverse nationalities and Christian (Nestorian) merchants who had brought silken stuffs, aloe-wood, benzoin, and musk for sale from Sarnau.][2] Mecca imported a very large quantity of cotton and silken stuffs from Bengal and many Muhammadan merchants were engaged in commerce between Bengal and Calicut.[3]

"The manufactures of Dacca," on the authority of Vertomannus, "were exported to Turkey,

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[1] R. H. Major's *India in the* 15th *Century* [Hakluyt Society (henceforth abbreviated into "Hak. Soc.") 1867 p. 6; also Elliot, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 96. Commercial intercourse between Bengal and Ormuz is also noted by Barbosa (Hak. Soc. publication), 1866, p. 42].

[2] *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hak. Soc.), 1863, p. 212.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Syria, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Persia, and fifty ships laden with cloth of Bombasin and silk were despatched annually to the aforesaid countries."[1]

Barbosa who visited Bengal about a decade after Varthema gives us a description of the commercial activities of Bengal that corroborate his predecessor in several points. [Many Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians, and Indians, says he, came here for trade. These merchants were owners of large ships with which they traded to Coromandel, Malabar, Cambay, Pegu, Tenasserim, Sumatra, Ceylon, Malacca, &c. Bengal was rich in cotton, sugarcane plantations, ginger, and long pepper, and manufactured many kinds of textiles extremely delicate, coloured for home consumption, and white for export. The stuffs were called *saravetis* excellent for women's head dress, and used by Arabs and Persians for caps. Many ship-loads of white sugar of very good quality were exported, packed up in raw-hide bags. Good preserves of various kinds of roots and fruits growing in the country attracted the notice of the traveller as they had done that of the Chinese visitors in the 14th century as recorded in Mahuan.][2]

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[1] Vertomannus (1503) as quoted in Taylor's *Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, p. 188.

[2] *Barbosa* (Hak. Soc.), pp. 179, 180.

Abul Fazl furnishes us with information about Bengal under the Emperor Akbar from which [the Sarkar of Ghorāghāt appears to have produced silk and a kind of sackcloth, Sarkar Barbakabad a fine cloth called *Gaṅgājal* (Ganges Water), and Sarkar Sonārgāon a species of very fine muslin in great quantity. The mats were often made so fine that they resembled woven silk. There were iron mines in Sarkar Bazoha, a diamond mine at Harpah in Sarkar Madaran producing chiefly very small stones. Emeralds, pearls, cornelians, and agates were imported, as also diamonds.

The historian speaks of the fertility of the soil of Bengal which could produce three crops of rice of various kinds a year without any injury to itself. Long pepper grew in Mahmudabad. Salt was brought from long distances.

In Sarkar Sātgāon, there were two ports Sātgāon and Hughly,[1] one mile apart. The latter began to eclipse the former in commercial importance in the latter half of the 16th century owing to the silting up of the Saraswati that had maintained her high position from the Paurāṇic age. Chittagong was now an excellent port and the resort of Christian and other merchants.][2]

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[1] Founded by the Portuguese in 1537.

[2] *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett's transl.), pp. 121-125, and 125 fn. 2.

Abul Fazl adds that in every part of Akbar's empire, ships were numerous, but in *Bengal*, Kashmere and Sindh, they were the pivot of all commerce.[1]

The excellence of the rich cloths and manufactures of Malda and Bengal received a deserved recogition by Sher Shāh who singled them out for presentation to Shaikh Khalil when the latter came to him on an embassy from Humāyūn.[2]

The voyager Linschoten gives us a glimpse of Bengal commerce and industries of the 8th decade of the century in his account which notices the production of much fine cotton linen exported to all the eastern countries and Portugal, a kind of excellently wrought yellow yarn from which çoverlets, pavilions, pillows, carpets, mantles &c., were made, and sugar in plenty. He refers also to the export of civet, rice in ships to foreign countries, and the brisk traffic between Chaul and Bengal.[3]

[Fitch, one of the first three merchants to visit Bengal in the eighties of this century came to Sātgāon from Agra accompanied by 180 boats laden with salt, opium, asafetida, lead, carpets and diverse other articles. Sonārgāon produced the best and finest cotton cloth and Bengal supplied rice to all India, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places.].[1] He mentions some other commercial places of Bengal viz., Tanda, Bacla, Sripur, Sandvīpa. The city of Gauḍa was perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal at this time.[2] One Shaikh Bhik, a cloth merchant of this place, is said to have sailed to Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths, of which two were wrecked near the Persian Gulf.[3]

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 279.

[2] Elliot, iv, p. 371 (*Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī*).

[3] *The Voyage of Linschoten to the E. Indies* (Hak. Soc., 1885) vol. i, pp. 94-96.

[Commerce between Bengal and Cochin, as Lancaster tells us, supplied the latter with various kinds of fine woven goods for re-export to Portugal. Achen (in Sumatra) had also commercial connections with Bengal.].[4] This Bengal-Achen commerce is also mentioned by the navigator John Davis (1599).[5]

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[1] *Purchas His Pilgrims* (ed. 1905), vol. 10, pp. 175, 184, 185.

[2] Dr. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*, pp. 219, 220, 221.

[3] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 95 as quoted in the *Indian Shipping*, p. 221.

[4] Lanscaster's *Voyage to the E. Indies* (Hak. Soc. 1877), pp. 15, 16, 82. Lancaster was in India in the nineties of the sixteenth century.

[5] *Purchas His Pilgrims*, p. 322.

This century is an important one in the commercial history of Bengal inasmuch as it saw the opening of its first regular commercial relations with the Portuguese.

Since 1518 Chittagong was annually visited by a Portugnese ship for purchase of merchandise for Portugal but Hughli was their first and Chittagong was their second settlement.[1] [During Akbar's reign, the Portuguese merchants used to come here from various parts of India for selling the goods they brought and for buying those found in the province. Their wares were taken mostly from the Malaccas, Sumatra, Borneo &c., with the exception of cowries from the Maldives, conchshells from Tuticorin and Tinnevelly, pepper from Malabar, and cinnamon from Ceylon. Of the aforesaid imports, the principal were worked China silks such as brocade, brocatelles, cloth, velvets, damasks, satins, taffetas, taffissirias, escommillas (muslins) in every variety of colour excepting black. The Portuguese were also carriers of many articles from China, viz., porcelain, all kinds of gilded furniture such as bedsteads, tables, chests, writing desks, boxes, curios, and pearls, and jewels of great value made in the European style but with greater skill and cheapness. They imported likewise white and red sandal-wood in great quantities from the kingdoms of Solor (?) and Timor (?), cloves, nutmegs, and mace from the Malaccas and Banda, and camphor from Borneo. All these articles, specially the more valuable, were taken by saodāgars (Bengal merchants) to the Imperial Court at Agra.][1]

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[1] *Cal. Review* (No. 143, 1881, vol. 72), p. 113, *Notes on the Early Commerce in Bengal* by Peary Chand Mitra.

Evidence in Bengal literature (10th to 16th c.)

A search of the early Bengali literature can yield names of raw and manufactured products that formed articles of Bengal commerce, and give an idea of the trading voyages made by the merchants. The *Śūnya-Purāṇa* (10th to 11th c.) has reference to the cultivation of cotton for the manufacture of cotton cloths[2] while the *Song* of Mānika Candra (11th to 12th c.) speaks of the sale of chalk and hemp-stalks as a profitable concern.[3] There are references also to jute *pāchaḍā* (i.e., *kheśa*, a kind of cloth),[4] *Śītalpāṭī*

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[1] *Manrique in Bengal* (transl. by Rev. L. Cardon, S. J., and annotated and edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.) in *Bengal Past and Present*, 1916, pp. 286, 287.

[2] *Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature* by Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen, pt. i, p. 112.

[3] *Ibid.*, pt. i, p. 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

(a fine sort of mat),[1] Indra-blanket,[2] *jute sāḍī* (jute cloth for use by ladies)[3] &c. The *Manasā-maṅgala*[4] (12th c.) by Kāṇā (one-eyed) Hari Datta speaks of Cānd Saodāgar's gains of commerce as amounting to fourteen boatfuls of precious stones. This may be a poetic hyperbole but yet testifies to the high place that commerce occupied in the estimation of the people as a source of profit. The *Padma Purāṇa* (or *Manasā Maṅgala*) by Vijaya Gupta written in the last decade of the 15th century gives a graphic description of Cānd Saodāgar's commercial voyage to Ceylon [with his fourteen boats full of various articles interesting for the present purpose. They included precious stones, cotton and jute cloths, and various roots, fruits, drugs, grains, and livestock. The bartering of these articles in Ceylon fetched him conchshells, precious stones, gold, pearls, corals, metal utensils, cinnabar, grapes and other fruits, plants, livestock, elephant tusks &c.].[5] A different work on the same theme as above but by a different writer, Dvija Vaṃśīdāsa, a contemporary of the aforesaid Vijaya Gupta, gives us in his account of Cānd's sea-voyage to Ceylon and the bartering that followed at the place a list of articles many of which do not appear in the previous enumeration, such as canopy, mosquito-curtain, carpet, bed, camp, shamiana, sheet, &c., all made of jute; and oil, ghee, narcotics, spices &c.[1] We shall conclude with borrowings from Mukundarāma's realistic description of the merchant and artizan castes who were compelled to leave their hearths and homes destroyed by an inundation, and settle in another place. No treatment of the commerce and industries of the Hindus is complete unless it puts as a standing background the various crafts and commercial activities that a caste-system allocating to certain castes those functions always implies. Some of the Vaiśyas are represented as engaged in agriculture, some in cattle-rearing, some other in money-lending. [The traders among them make cheap purchases of goods at the proper season for selling them with a large margin of profit. Some travel from place to place and town to town for selling their diamonds, sapphires, pearls and corals. Some equip their boats with merchandise for journeys to various towns and bring back conch-shells, chowries and sandalwood. They buy and sell one or other of these, viz., blankets made of long hairs of the Tartary bulls and cows, horses, and elephants with their trappings, young camels, *paṭṭiśas* (spears with sharp edges) and coats of mail. There settle the *Potters* making earthen vessels and earthen frames of musical instruments; hundreds of *Weavers* weaving *bhuni* (i.e. *sāḍī* or cloth for ladies), *dhutikhādi* (small *sāḍīs*), and *gadi* (i.e. sheets); *Blacksmiths* forging spades, axes, ploughshares, hoes, coats of mail, and spears; the *Telis*, some engaged in agriculture, some expressing oil out of seeds with the *ghāni* (oil pressing machine), while the rest buying and selling it in the market; the *Gopas* with their homes filled with wheat, sesamum, pulses, mustard and cotton grown on their fields; the *Śaṅkha-vaṇiks* cutting conchshells, *Maṇi-vaṇiks* selling precious stones, *Āguris* pursuing their own occupation (e.g. agriculture), *Modakas* making sugar and sweets, *Gandha-vaṇiks* selling such articles as spices, and incense; the *Mālis* vending garlands among other wares special to them, *Bāruis* growing betel, *Tāmbulis* selling betel-leaves dressed with betel-nuts; the *Braziers* making various kinds of brazen articles, and so on with the various other castes which space does not permit me to enumerate. Suffice it to remark that the numerous castes and sub-castes ministered to quite a number of industries, enough for meeting the limited material wants of the people of those days. The work also names a number of Muhammadan communities with their peculiar industrial or commercial functions.][1]

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[1] D. C. Sen's *Typical Selections etc.*, p. 48. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa (Ibid., p. 492, 14th c.) has *mājuri* (a kind of mat) and *neta* (a kind of silk sheet).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[5] *Padma-Purāṇa* (*Manasā-maṅgala*) by Vijaya Gupta, ed. by Paṇḍit Tārāprasanna Ghose Vidyāvinoda, pp. 120, 129-131, and 140.

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[1] Vaṃśīdāsa's *Padma-Purāṇa,* ed. by Messrs. Ramānāth and Dwārkānāth Chakravarty, pp. 289, 378, 380, 385-387.

Re. mainly the Indian activities, 1600 to *circa* 1757.

In the 17th century, the commercial intercourse of the Europeans with Bengal was much better than before. In the present section we shall concentrate our attention more on the Indian commercial activities that on the European, which latter will be dealt with in the following section :—

The traveller Pyrard records that [rice was exported to all parts of India and innumerable vessels came here for provisions. He noticed abundance of sugarcane, carpets of various kinds woven with great skill, export of scented oil in large quantities extracted from diverse flowers and a certain sort of grain, and cotton so plentiful that it met not only the Bengal demands but also those of all other parts of India whither it was exported either in its raw state, or as woven goods. There was also plenty of silk, silk-worm, and silk-herb, and men and women alike were wonderfully adroit in the manufacture of cotton and silk cloths, and needle-work such as embroideries. Furniture and vessels of extraordinary delicacy, and large quantities of small, black and red pottery were also made. The commercial instincts of the people were very strong. They made long trading voyages to many places.][1]

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[1] *Kavikaṅkaṇa-Caṇḍī* by Mukundarāma Chakravartī (Vaṅgabāsī ed.), pp. 87-91. See also *Calcutta Review*, vol. 93 (1891), pp. 352 ff., Guru Prasad Sen, *A Glimpse of Bengal in the 16th c., A. D.*

The annual importation of salt from Agra to this province amounted to over 10,000 tons transported in barges of four to five hundred tons each.[2]

Sir Thomas Roe's notices mark out Gaur, Rajmahal, Dacca, Chittagong (Porte Grande), Port Pequina (Sātgāon) as some of the important towns of Bengal at the time of his visit as ambassador.[3]

The factors at Surat were under the impression that Bengal was poor. To remove this impression Sir Thomas reported that it was very rich, feeding as it did the whole of the continent of India with wheat, rice, and sugar, and containing the finest cloth, pintadoes, musk, civet, amber and almost all rarities.'[1]

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[1] *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval* (1st decade of the 17th century), (Hak. Soc. 1887), vol. i, pp. 327-329, 332.

[2] *The Journal of John Jourdan* (1608-17) [Hak. Soc. 1905], p. 162.

[3] *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul* (1610-19) [Hak. Soc. 1899], vol. ii, p. 538.

Peter Mundy who was at Patna from 1632 onwards describes it as [the greatest mart to which goods were brought for sale from various places, e.g., *Khāssa* a fine thin cloth, and *Malmal Shāhī* (royal muslin) from Sonārgāon, Bengal quilts from Sātgāon, raw silk from Murshidabad. Of the ports about which he heard from the merchants he came across may be noted Chittagong, Serrepore (near Dacca), and Hijli.][2]

Bernier's observations regarding Bengal are well-known. [His personal knowledge of the province during his two voyages impressed him with the idea that it was the 'best and fruitfulest part of the world' instead of Egypt. He names the various commodities together with the trade-routes along which they were transported to various places far and near. Of these the most notable were silks, cotton goods, rice and sugar. "As to the commodities of value and which draw the commerce of strangers thither", the traveller writes "I know not whether there be a country in the world that affords more and greater variety".][1]

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[1] *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe etc.*, i, p. 218 fn.

[2] *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hak. Soc., 1814), vol. ii, pp. 151, 153-155, 157.

Tavernier (1665-1669) speaks of diamond mines at Soumelpour,[2] and gold obtained from river-washings in Tipperah.[3] The former is taken as Chota Nagpur, as its probable identification falls outside the reduced limits of Bengal of today, while the latter still continues to be a district of the province.

The silk of Kasimbazar was yellow, but it was whitened by a chemical process, while cotton cloths were taken to Renonsari and Broach for being bleached with lemons available there in plenty. Gum-lac was used for dyeing cotton cloths; indigo[4] and moist sugar were imported in large quantities, while corals, yellow amber, trinkets made of tortoise or other shells were purchased at Dacca by the Armenian merchants for export to foreign countries.[1] The muslins of Dacca maintained now as before their high reputation to which the following extract from Miss Manning will testify:—

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[1] Bernier's *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (Constable's ed. 1841), pp. 437, 439.

[2] Tavernier's *Travels in India* (ed. by V. Ball 1889), vol. ii, p. 81. It was to these diamond mines and gold washings to which Mandeville, a traveller of the 14th century, seems to refer when he says, "In the Ganges, there are many precious stones and much gravel of gold." *The Marvellous Adventures of Sir J. Mandeville* (Hak. Soc., 1895), p. 376.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[4] This colouring matter is known in India from time immemorial. See Miss Manning's *Ancient & Mediæval India*, vol. ii, p. 275.

"The same testimony to the fineness of Hindu manufacture is given in an anecdote recorded by Mr. Bott in his work on the *Cotton Manufactures of Dacca.* The Emperor Aurangzeb reproved his daughter for showing her skin through her clothes. The daughter justified herself by asserting that she had on *seven* suits or *jāmāhs.* The very names which the Hindus have given to their muslins are evidence of the interest taken in these exquisite productions. One, which is regarded as third in quality, is called 'Evening Dew' and when spread upon the grass can scarcely be distinguished from the dew.[2] The second quality is *Abravan,* or 'Running Water'; and it is related that in the time of Nawab Alivardy Khan, a weaver was turned out of Dacca for his neglect in not preventing his cow from eating up a piece of thin muslin, which he had carelessly left upon the grass. The first quality of Dacca muslin is known as "Woven Air", and all goods of these three qualities appear to go under the name of *Mulmul Khas* or king's muslins, £1 per yard being the usual price.

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[1] Tavernier's *Travels in India,* vol. ii, pp. 4, 9, 21, 23, 261.

[2] As quoted by Dr. Forbes Watson in the *Textile Manufactures,* p. 76. [Miss Manning, *op. cit,* p. 860].

The Hindus consider the Jam or loom-figured to be their *chef d'œuvre* in muslins. £ 31 is said to have been the price of that manufactured for the Emperor Aurangzeb; whilst, in 1776, these muslins reached the extravagant price of £56 per piece.[1] Comparing these fabrics with those manufactured in Great Britain, Dr. Watson finds the yarn finer than yet produced in Europe, while the *twisting* given to it by Hindu hand makes it more durable than machine-made fabric. And thus the strange-looking spinning-wheel exhibited here, in 1851, with its 'richly-carved wood bound round by unsightly threads', proves to have powers not to be obtained by any other means."[2]

The cotton industry of Bengal has always occupied a high place from very early times as will be apparent from the evidences already adduced. The fine products of the loom have been her pride, and attracted the notice of foreigners who have expressed their admiration in the highest terms. Side by side with this industry, she had many others, whose products were in great demand not only in India but also in foreign and distant lands. Among her agricultural products forming articles of commerce, rice occupied the foremost place amidst a rich variety of grains, medicinal plants and vegetables which her fertile soil can bring forth. An enumeration of some of these can put us in mind of the various articles which found a market place in Bengal either for home consumption or for external commerce. These were, besides cotton and the woven goods made thereof, silk, silk goods, jute and flaxen goods, printed cloths, sword blades, guns, cutlery, paper, mats, conchshell ornaments, painted wares, ivory articles, weapons, suits of armour, blankets, preserved and candied fruits, sugar, salt, spikenard, malabothram, aloes, galingale, ginger, long pepper, civet, opium, asafetida, hemp, rice, wheat, sesamum, pulses, millet, mustard, onions, garlic, various kinds of fruits, and betel-nuts. Among her minerals may be mentioned gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, iron &c.; and to these should be added precious stones of various sorts. The remarks of Alexander Dow regarding Bengal commerce during the times of the Moghuls are an excellent resumé of its noteworthy features: "Though despotism is not the most favourable government for commerce, it flourished greatly in Bengal under the strict justice of the house of

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[1] Forbes Watson, *Textile Manufactures*, p. 79.

[2] Professor Cooper, *Report on Great Exhibition of* 1851. [Miss Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 360].

Timur. Sensible of the advantages which they themselves would derive from a free commercial intercourse between their subjects, they were invariably the protectors of merchants. The military ideas which they brought from Tartary prevented the principal servants of the crown from engaging in trade and, therefore, monopolies of every kind were discouraged, and almost unknown. No government in Europe was ever more severe against forestalling and regrating, than was that of the Moghuls in India, with regard to all the branches of commerce. A small duty was raised by the crown; but this was amply repaid by the never violated security given to the merchant. Bengal, from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil and the natural industry of the Hindus was always remarkable for its commerce. The easy communication by water from place to place facilitated a mercantile intercourse among the inhabitants. Every village has its canal, every perganah its river, and the whole kingdom the Ganges, which falling, by various mouths into the Bay of Bengal, lays open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufactures. A people, from an inviolable prejudice of religion, abstemious, were averse to luxury themselves; and the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously by the soil and climate. The balance of trade, therefore, was against all nations, in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared, without the least prospect of return."[1] Robertson applies to India a remark similar to the last passage in the above extract and for a period extending back to the first century of the Christian era. "From the age of Pliny to the present times, it has always been considered and execrated as the gulf which swallows up the wealth of any other country that flows incessantly towards it and from which it never returns."[2]

The commerce of Bengal continued with unabated briskness up to the middle of the 18th century as will appear from Orme's observations made in 1753. [Bengal, he tells us, hath by its situation and productions the most extensive commerce of any province of the empire. It supplied Delhi with all its linens and silks, Arabia and Persia with silk, raw and manufactured, cotton cloths, sugar, opium, grain, etc. It was here that the European nations made their largest investments. The numerous productions of Hindustan and the difference in wants in its different parts afforded a large scope for an extensive trade within itself which was carried on with no small degree of application whenever the sword was sheathed.][1] We shall conclude with some other remarks of Alexander Dow whom we have quoted already: [The prosperity and opulence of Bengal during the rule of the House of Timur and even that of the revolted viceroys proceeded from its lucrative commerce as much as from its fertile soil. Rich in the industry of its inhabitants, it became independent of the partial rapine of impolitic governors who plundered only to squander away. The money which entered by injustice at one door of the treasury was carried out at another by luxury. The court of Nawab was the heart which only received the various currents of wealth to throw it with vigour through every vein of the kingdom.][2]

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[1] Dow's *History of Hindostan* (1772), vol. iii, pp. lxi-lxii.

[2] Robertson's *Disquisition on Ancient India*, Appendix, para. 7.

The materials for this as well as for the subsequent portions do not disappoint the enquirer by their paucity but overwhelm him by their plenitude. The various military and political activities of the Europeans in support of their commerce which was at first their main objective do not come within our purview. Our attention would be confined to the results of these activities in the commercial field rather than to the activities themselves.

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[1] Orme's *Historical Fragments* &c. (1805), pp. 412, 413, 416. Cf. Raynal's *History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans etc.*, (transl. by Justamond), 3rd ed. vol. i, pp. 417-418.

[2] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, pp. lxxvi; lxxvii.

Under the Muhammadans, several towns in Bengal rose into prominence at different times by the shifting of the seat of government which brought about corresponding changes in the commercial centres. Nadia, Gour (Lakhnauti), Panduah (near Malda), Tanda,[1] Rajmahal, Dacca, Murshidabad, for instance, had their spans of glory as the result of these changes. Founded by the Portuguese in 1587, Hughli gradually came into prominence, eclipsing Saptagram and giving way in its turn to Calcutta founded by the British in 1690. This last town was destined to supersede all others and rise into increasing glory up to late years. Side by side with these, there were other towns either founded by the Europeans, or with a marked relation with their activities, such as Chittagong, Chinsurah, Chandernagar, Serampore, Kasimbazar, Malda.

In 1600 the Portuguese had already had a century of settlement in India. They were the first to appear in the field but not the longest to stay in it. Their first settlement in Bengal

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18 See Lethbridge's transl. of the *Topography of the Mogul Empire* (1631) by Jennes de Laet (1871), p. 59.

(with its present limit) dates from 1534 and took place at Hughli, followed by that of the Danes at Serampore in 1616. The British obtained in 1634 permission from the Moghul Emperor to trade in Bengal but they were only to come with their ships to Pippli (in Orissa). Their factory at Hughli dates from 1640. They were followed by the Dutch who by 1664 had established factories at Hughli, Kasimbazar and Dacca. The advent of the French in Bengal came next in order with the acquisition of Chandernagar in 1681. The first settlement of the Ostend (German) Company was at Bankibazar between Calcutta and Chinsurah. The Company was formed in 1722 by the Holy Roman Empire with Austria at its head and was at an end in 1733. The Asiatic Trading Company of Embden started in 1750 by the king of Prussia could not secure the permission of the Nawab of Bengal to come to the province but nevertheless effected an entrance and found the English, French and Dutch merchants willing to trade with it on their private account. This company was sacrificed shortly after to the necessities of diplomacy in Europe. The Swedes were the last to participate in the Indian trade. Their Company came into being in 1731 and played but an unimportant part.

Of the seven or eight nations who thus struggled to have the largest share in the Indian trade, only four emerge into prominence, viz., the English, Portuguese, French and Dutch. Before the end of the period under review, the Portuguese met with their downfall, while the French and Dutch were not far from it. The English were destined to enter on a new career of territorial acquisitions from 1757 onwards, which was replete with such important influences upon the commerce and industries of Bengal or rather the whole of India.

The English East Indian Company which was started in 1600 did not get the *farman* to trade at Pippli (in Orissa) until 1634. Before this date, it had established factories or agencies at Surat and other places. The time before 1634 may be called the period of prospecting so far as the Bengal trade was concerned. Its servants were making enquiries into the gains and losses likely to follow from the opening of a commercial connection with the province and as evidences thereof stand their letters[1] and reports of consultations bearing on the subject. There are other letters and reports which carry on the account of its trade subsequent to 1634 and bring to light its commercial activities in Bengal during this period. Space does not permit me to give here more than bare references (see fn.) to the pages and volumes of the works in which are compiled some of these letters and reports.

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[1] See *Letters received by the E. I. Company from its servants in the East* (1602-1617), vol. i, pp. 68, 70, 72, 37; vol. ii, p. 66; vol. iv, pp. 250, 327. The *English Factories in India* edited by Mr. W. Foster places within our reach details of the Company's trade from 1618-54. Those regarding Bengal may be gleaned from vol. i, pp. xxiii, 14, 112, 195, 197, 1264; vol. iv, pp. xxx ff., 323; vol. v, pp. 23, 41, 42, 49; vol. vi, pp. 119, 316; vol. vii, pp. xxxv, 45, 95, 304; vol. viii, pp. 332, 333.

The salient features of the Company's trading activities in Bengal are as follows :—

1634-35. [In this year Mr. Morris attracted by the reasonable rates and vast quantities of fine white cloths and other provisions attempted the trade to Bengal. We obtained a *farman* from Shah Jahan giving permission to the Company to send ships to Pippli (in Orissa).][1]

Dr. Boughton obtained for the Company the privilege to open factories in Bengal and trade there free of all duties[2] as his reward for curing Shah Jahan's daughter Jāhānārā.

1640. A factory was established at Hughli under the *farman* granted to Dr. Boughton.[3]

1658. Agency established at Kasimbazar.[4]

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[1] Bruce's *Annals of the Hon. E. I. Co.*, vol. i, p. 327.

[2] According to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, sec. vi. The date has been doubted by some writers.

[3] Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 432.

[4] Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, under 'Kasimbazar.'

1659-60. [The demand for English cloths and manufactures was inconsiderable in Bengal. Saltpetre of the best quality was purchased at reasonable rates and raw silk taffaties were new articles in the investment. The conduct of the Nawab towards the English was oppressive].[1]

1668. A factory was established at Dacca[2].

1670. Indian muslins were first introduced into England[3]. It was decided to buy all saltpetre from Bengal[4].

1672. Shayista Khan freed the English trade of all dues except the annual tribute of Rs. 3,000[5].

1673. Artisans were brought to Hughli to improve the colour of taffaties by dyeing the green and black silks, keeping their art secret from the Indians[6].

1675. [There was increase in the saltpetre trade. The agent at Hughli was authorized to buy white sugar, cotton yarn, turmeric and bees' wax to fill up any spare tonnage in the ships][7].

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[1] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 550.

[2] C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. i, p. 45.

[3] Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii, p. 450.

[4] C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

[6] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 314.

[7] C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. xvi, and Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 361.

1676. A factory was started at Maldah[1]

1678. A loud out-cry was made in England against the importation of Indian goods[2].

1681-82. John Child was appointed President of Surat and directed to promote the sale of English manufactures in India[3]

Bengal was separated from St. George, and William Hedges was its first Governor.

1682-83. Order was sent for the first time to the Bengal servants to purchase twenty duppers of opium. The English trade was subjected to an increase of duty from 2 to 3½ p. c.[4]

1686. Kasimbazar and other English factories in Bengal were condemned to confiscation by Nawab Shayista Khan[5].

1690. [The site of Calcutta was selected by Job Charnock as a proper place for the English trade and fortified settlement. Seeing the decline of Satgaon, four families of Bysacks and one of Setts had already established about 1550 the settlement of Gobindapore and the

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[1] C. R. Wilson, *Ibid.*, Bowrey speaks of the brisk trade driven by the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese in his *Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, (1669-79) [Hak. Soc.], pp. 133-134.

[2] Baines' *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Britain*, p. 7.

[3] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 460.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 482, 492.

[5] Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 434.

Sutanati market, where they used to trade with the Portuguese. When Hughli rose to be an important Portuguese settlement, the business of the Setts and Bysacks with the Portuguese suffered much. But after the arrival of the English at Sutanati and Gobindapore, business connection grew up between them and those families][1].

1693. Aurangzib suspended the privileges of the European traders[2].

1698. The three towns of Sutanati, Calcutta, and Gobindapore with their districts were purchased by the Company under the authority of Azim[3].

1700. An act was passed enacting that "from and after the 29th day of September, 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals and stuffs mixed with silk or herbs, of the manufacture of China, Persia or the East Indies, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed or stained there, which are or shall be imported into this kingdom shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain; and all goods imported after that day shall be warehoused or exported again." It imposed an additional duty of 15 p. c. on the imports and a fine of £200 for offence against the law[1].

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[1] C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 127, 128, 135, 137. Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, vol. ii, p. 195.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 141.

[3] James Mill's *History of British India*, vol. iii, p. 26.

Dr. Hamilton obtained from Farrukh Seyar some privileges for the Company in return for the medical aid given to the prince[2]. Owing to various difficulties in the way, the Company could not actually obtain all the advantage granted to it formally. Its servants who traded on their private account tried to avail themselves of the exemption from duties included in the privileges meant for the Company alone but could not succeed owing to the opposition of the then Nawab of Bengal on the ground that such an exemption would be ruinous to the country traders as well as to the government revenue. Thus interrupted in their attempt to grasp the inland trade, they fell back upon their maritime with all their zeal, which resulted in the increase of the shipment of the port of Calcutta to 10,000 tons about 1725[3].

1728. The English ladies continued to use Indian manufactures in spite of the Act of 1700[4].

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[1] Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 271; Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 294-95; Montgomery Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 230; James' *Indian Industries*, 73-90.

[2] Mill's *History of British India*, vol. iii, p. 29.

[3] Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 32, 33.

[4] *A Plan of the English Commerce* (pub. 1728) as quoted in Baine's *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, p. 80.

It will appear from the above two Sections that Bengal industries and commerce maintained their position up to about the middle of the eighteenth century. Though the European traders were in the field and were trying to secure for the European products a larger and larger market in Bengal, their operations did not materially affect Bengal commerce and industries. The Bengal operatives used no doubt to work on a system of advance made by the English Company and its servants, but up till 1757, those advances were limited, and the Bengal industries might be pronounced to have been fed by Indian capital, and guided by Indian skill and business ability. The share therefore that the Indians had in both the internal and external commerce of Bengal was yet very large. The Company and its servants had generally to obtain their goods for export, or for inland sale, from Indian merchants, who procured them from Indian artisans whose products were the outcome of Indian capital, while the intermediaries in the transactions were the Indian brokers. This will make clear that Calcutta was the headquarters of the British traders and the premier place for the collection of their imported goods as also those meant for export. The Setts and Bysacks were the founders of Sutanati and Gobindapore, and it was these settlements or rather marts that no doubt influenced a good deal Job Charnock's choice of the site of Calcutta as the basis of the English commercial operations in Bengal.

The growth of British commerce attracted merchants, traders, artisans together with people of diverse other classes who resorted here for various reasons. The mercantile and artisan section of population formed the nucleus which has developed by later accretions, which again have been largely determined by the commercial advantages of the place.

With the general transformation of the character of the commercial relations between the British and the Indians in the periods that follow, there was also a corresponding transformation in the character of such relations in Calcutta. But the volume of commerce has been on the increase, which has served to make the city what it is at present.

1757-1917 A. C. The next period from 1757 to 1917 may be divided into smaller periods, viz.:

(1) 1757-1837 ; (3) 1859-1876;
(2) 1838-1858 ; (4) 1877-1900 ;
(5) 1901-1917.

Mr. R. C. Dutt has, in his two works—the *History of British India*, and *India in the Victorian Age*,—written a connected account of the commerce and industries of India from 1757 to 1900. The former traces the account from 1757 to 1837, while the latter carries it up to 1900.

1757-1837. The authorities upon whom he relies for the period (1757-1837) are mentioned below for ready reference.[1]

The disruptive causes that came into play were according to the author these :—

[Disregard of inland duties by the Company's servants trading on their private account, which hampered the country traders; their acts of commercial coercion, the Company's commercial policy of displacement, the application of steam power to manufactures, the Regulation XXXI of 1793 concerning the weaving population, disturbing influences of the earlier land settlements, and the Company's *investments* out of revenues.

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[1] (1) H. Vansittart's *Narrative of the Transactions of Bengal.*
(2) Verelst's *View of Bengal* &c.
(3) Letters of Mir Kasim Muhammad Ali and Hastings.
(4) W. Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs.*
(5) House of Commons Committee's *Reports.*
(6) Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal.*
(7) Select Committee's *Fifth Report* (1812).
(8) Mill's *History of British India and its Connection* by H. H. Wilson.
(9) *Minutes of Evidence &c. on the Affairs of the E. I. Co.* (1813).
(10) The House of Commons' *Reports* of 1330, 1330-31, 1331.
(11) *Evidence before the Lords' Committee* (1336), Digest.
(12) H. Mackenzie's *Memorandum.*
(13) G. O. Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.*
(14) H. T. Prinsep's *Note* (1818).
(15) The results of enquiries made dy Buchanan Hamilton and summarized by Montgomery Martin in his *History of Eastern India.*

By 1813 the Indian manufactures were superseded by the British and by 1837 the people of India became chiefly agricultural instead of being both manufacturing and agricultural][1].

Other works that may be consulted for this period (1757-1837) or its portions are:—

F. P. Robinson's *Trade of the E. I. Co.* (1709-18-13); Montgomery Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. I, pp. 295, 301, 564; Birdwood's *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office*; H. H. Wilson's *Continuation of Mill's History of British India* (already noted), Bk. I, chs. VII & VIII; Mill's *History of British India*, vols. III-VI; Talboys Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, chs. VII & X; Guyon's *New History of the East Indies*, vol. II, pp. 497, 498 and 504 ff.; Stavorinus' *Voyages to the East Indies*, vol. I; Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* (for this period); Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, vol. I, pp. 417-551; Thornton's *Summary of the History of the E. I Com-*

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[1] R. C. Dutt's *Economic History of British India*, chs. II-V, and XIII-XVII.

pany &c.; Westland's *Report on the District of Jessore, etc.*, pp. 161ff. *Riyazus Salatin* [transl. by Abdul Salam (Bibl. Indica)], Introduction, Sec. II, (pp. 21-23), Sec. III. (pp. 29, 31-33, 38, 40-44, 46, 228, 276); H. T. Colebrooke's *Remarks on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal*; Pramatha Nath Bose's *History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule* (Trübner Series), vol. I, pp. 224, 225, 236; Russell's *Short History of the E. I. Co.*, chs. 10,11; *J. R. A. S.* (1860), vol. 17 (O. S.), pp. 346 ff.; H. T. Prinsep's *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India*, vol. II, pp. 432 ff.; H. H. Wilson's *Review of the External Commerce of Bengal from* 1813-14 *to* 1827-28; J. Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs,* vol. II, p. 223; Ward's *View of the History etc. of the Hindus* (pub. 1818), vol. I, pp. 68-104, 151; Hilburn's *Oriental Commerce*, pp. 250,253; H. T. Prinsep's '*Remarks on the External Commerce and Exchanges of Bengal* 1813-1823; Bell's *Review of the External Commerce of Bengal from* 1824-25 to 1829-30; Martin's *Political*, *Commercial,* etc. *History of the Anglo-Eastern Empire*, ch. IV, pp. 88-133; S. C. Dey's *Hughli, past and present*; monographs of merit in Bengali on particular towns or districts, e. g., on Calcutta by Mr. Harisadhan Mukhopadhyaya, on Dacca by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Roy, on Sonargaon by Mr. Svarupchandra Dey, on Vikrampore by Mr. Jogendra Nath Gupta; *Bengal, past and present,* III, p. 212 (re. Dacca etc.).

Within about a decade from the commencement of this period (1757-1837), the British became the supreme European power in Bengal. Their hold upon the financial administration of the province was followed soon by its extension over the administration in all its branches. The gradual development of Calcutta as the commercial centre during this time is an interesting study. The increase of import of British and other European goods and the export of mainly the raw produce of this country led to the gradual establishment of characteristic quarters some of which were chiefly used for particular kinds of trade. Old China Bazar, Barabazar, Dharmtollah market, Chadni Chowk, Tiretta Bazar, Chitpore, dockyard at Kidderpore, various landing places and buildings to accommodate the trading firms, shopkeepers, &c., may be mentioned as a few illustrations of this process of development.[1] The present frame-work of the city is in a large measure the outcome of its intimate connection with the various trade currents of which it was the principal passage. The Indians[2] could not but have a share in the trade transacted here though it was coloured by the aforesaid industrial change that was coming over the country.

1838-1900 A. D. For the period from 1838 to 1900 R. C. Dutt draws upon *Evidences before the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, (1840); *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords* ((1840); *Enquiries*

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[1] *The Good Old Days of Hon. John Co.*, vol. II, ch. II.

[2] From the *Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars, &c.* by Loke Nath Ghose, pt. II, we get a few names of Indian merchants of the time.

into the condition and prospects of "Sugar and Coffee Planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian Possessions and the Mauritius" by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1838 ; *Enquiries into the growth of Cotton in India* by another Select Committee appointed in the same year ; Reports of the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1852 and 1853 ; Select Committee's Report 1871, 1863 ; Dr. Voelcker's *Report on Indian Agriculture*, and various Acts and Regulations and Government publications.

Other works which may be consulted are :—Meredith Townsend's *Annals of Indian Administration*, 19 vols., 1150-1874 ; B. A. Irving's *Commerce of India* ; E. H. Nolan's *History of the British Empire in India and the East &c.*, vol. I, chs. XIX-XXII and vol. II ; W. S. Hamilton's *Trade Relations between England and India* ; Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, vol. II ; Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 3rd ed., chs. XVII, XIX-XXI ; *The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company*; *The Commercial Annual*, 1674-75 and 1875-76; Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, 1875 ; Beveridge's *District of Bakarganj, etc.*, H. V. Bayley's *Memoranda of Midnapur* ; Birdwood's *Industrial Art of India*, pp. 150, 159, 194, 232, 233, 241, 244, 248-250, 265, 271, 275, 285, 305 ; T. H. Mukherjee's *Art Manufactures of India*, pp. 56, 59-63, 74, 110-117, 134, 138, 144, 146, 148, 155, 159-60, 183, 186, 191-192, 194-216, 218, 230, 232, 261, 275, 280-81, 284, 294-299, 307, 316, 331-332, 345, 348, 363, 368, 370-371, 390 ; the Gazetteers and other Government publications.

Some of the noticeable features, according to Mr. Dutt, of this period are :—

[Accentuation of some of the tendencies of the preceding period, several favourable and unfavourable alterations in the tariff, addition of tea as an article both for export and home consumption, greater export of jute from after the Crimean War, indigo disturbances, exploitation of coal mines, competition of house-made sugar with that of Java and other countries[1].]*

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[1] R. C. Dutt's *India in the Victorian Age*, bk. I, chs. vii, x ; bk. II, chs. vii, xii ; bk. III, vii, ix.

* This paper was written at the request of Mr. W. R. Gourlay, the then Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bengal, for supplying information to the members of the Industrial Commission (1916-18).

On Bhakti and the Spiritual Culture of the Hindus*

Contact of western civilization with the Hindus and effects thereof.

The contact of western civilization with that of the Hindus has brought about in diverse directions, great changes, one of which is that in the domain of religious thought and belief. In addition to the activities of the missionaries, whose preachings acted detrimentally towards the orthodox faiths, there were various other factors that contributed to the same result. Of these, the principal were :—

(1) The sceptical, scientific spirit forming an adjunct of western education that leads one to refuse to take on trust anything that is not based on data regarded as sound by the rules of induction or deduction of European logic.

(2) The processes of historical criticism that have dissected the religious works of the Hindus from the Vedas downwards, and shown according to the rules of historical criticism (*a*) their limited antiquity as opposed to their eternal existence in the forms in which we see them, (*b*) their gradual growth, (*c*)

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* Introduction to the *Muktāphalam* by Vopadeva.

their interpolations which were made to serve various purposes, (*d*) the emergence of the various branches of Hindu religious literature in a certain chronological order in which (the composition of the *Māhātmyas*, forming part of the *Purāṇas*, not ceasing yet) the *Purāṇas* stand last, and among which there is an internal connection by reason of the evolution of thought in the later branches of the literature from the former ones, and (*e*) the gradual evolution of the Hindu pantheon (as has also been proved in regard to other countries) showing an order of emergence of the objects of worship as opposed to the current beliefs.

(3) The mutual contradictions or dissimilarities between portions of religious books, of which, one cannot be supposed as true without considering the other to be in error *e. g.* the dissimilarities or contradictions in the list of royal dynasties in the *Purāṇas* which as the fifth Veda are believed to be infallible.

(4) The modern progress of the physical sciences or the modern geographical, astronomical, or other branches of knowledge prove certain statements of the religious books to be untenable.

This appears quite natural if we take into account the time when the statements were made but they militate against the orthodox belief as to those religious books.

(5) The criticisms, sometimes undeserved or even ruthless (by Jean A. Dubois, Talboys Wheeler, and others) against the manners, customs, and institutions of the Hindus, and the ideas and beliefs underlying them carried on for the first time in the history of India their radical but fearless examination which destroyed or shook to the foundations many a fond idea or belief found in the Hindu religious books.

(6) The study of religious books in the light of historical criticism has shown that statements found in them may be such that they can be more satisfactorily accounted for by the exigencies, changes, or demands of religious thought than by the supposition of the actual occurrence of the incidents in the statements.

The influence of all these factors has been to leaven the Hindu mind with a spirit of reasoning which checks the free play of belief in regard to religious matters. Now the question arises whether after conceding the various factors all that they can reasonably claim, would there be nothing left of the contents of Hindu religious books, beliefs and practices, that can well hold up its head against the attacks? The lives and sayings of those who have attained success by proceeding along the ways prescribed by the *sanātana dharma* lead one to believe that even after leaving aside all that must be rejected, there must be left much that the acutest reasonings of scholars best equipped with modern secular scholarship cannot probe, because their conclusions leave out many premises of which they do not even dream, but which must be duly noted to account for actual results. Just as credulousness can be pushed too far, so also scepticism; and what we regard as opposed to the laws of nature, or to philosophy, may be quite in accord with laws, or philosphy, beyond the comprehension of the present-day scholar of the college and the laboratory. The result is that the prevailing attitude of the generality of the people of the present day towards the ways by which the highest spiritual life is prescribed as attainable in the Hindu *śāstras*, or towards those mortals who are widely recognized in India as successful in their pursuit of the ideals of the *śāstras* such as Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa, or Trailaṅga Svāmī is either of disbelief that dismisses them with curt

How far the spirit of scepticism is justified.

Disorganization and disuse of 'stages of life' are responsible for the spiritual ebb among the Hindus.

phrases like 'lunatics' or 'mystics', and their experiences as 'visions' or 'hallucinations', or one of transient adulation that bestows praises on them for the moment and rests satisfied. The present Hindu society has ceased to keep up the provision, that was zealously maintained by it of yore, for a regular supply of people from within itself to take to the third and fourth 'stages of life', namely *vānaprastha*, and *yati*, in order that nothing might deter those who had climbed up to the highest rung of spiritual life from having suitable men to follow in their footsteps and keep alive in the country the spiritual truths and attainments that might be well-nigh or totally lost for want of adherents, who would have otherwise been unwilling to join them by sheer unbelief at the very outset. Whatever might be the defects of the 'stages of life' of early Hindu society, one thing is certain that without them, India could not have attained to the degree of spiritual culture that made it 'the land of ṛṣis', the home of realities of spiritual life that are still but enigmas to many other countries of the world. Its spiritual culture is generally supposed to be one of the causes of its decline, in view, as is alleged, of the fact that it made the people but philosophic imbeciles and dreamers, but the supposition, I

The decline of material prosperity of the Hindus, not due to spiritual culture but to its abuse and misapplication.

think, fails to hit the right nail. India declined not because of its spiritual culture but because it could not keep its stream of spirtual life ungarbled and unabused, and could not practically act upon the scheme of individual and social life in which the material interests of the people and the country are not allowed to be overshadowed by the zeal for spiritual and religious matters. There was a class of thinkers (e. g. Kauṭilya) who saw that, of the four aims of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, *artha* is the basis upon which rest the three other aims, which cannot be achieved if the basis be shaky and unsound. In the human body, the legs are generally regarded as occupying a very low position in comparison with the brain, but if this low estimate of their value gives rise to practical neglect of the two limbs causing them actual injury or destroying their efficiency, then the best brain has to succumb in competition with another that is not so hampered in the use of the legs, as the result of its own action, in giving effect to its thoughts. The same is the case in regard to the body politic. The spiritual and religious matters came to receive the attention of the Hindus at the expense of secular matters, and this is one of the principal reasons why the body politic of the Hindus had to give way in its struggle with that of the other peoples who prosecuted it in right earnest.

Material and spiritual responsibilities of the second 'stage of life'.

The second 'stage of life' (*gr-hasthāśrama*) of a twice-born was the only stage that was meant to be principally devoted to the secular side of human life and society, and the practical duty of maintaining or increasing the strength of the body politic in economic, financial, political, and military matters, and protecting it from evils, arising from within or without and threatening to destroy it rested on the people in this 'stage of life', though suggestions, additions to existing knowledge, and so forth could come from those in any of the four 'stages', from the fourth caste, or from beyond the pale of Hindu society. It is clear therefore that if the people in the second 'stage of life' grow in course of time apathetic to wordly matters under the influence of a conception of life that relegates the acquisition, preservation, and improvement (*yoga-kṣema-sādhana*) of all secular matters relating to both the individual and the society to a neglectable position, and attaches the sole importance to religious and spiritual matters, though these latter cannot be maintained in a good condition without the former, the country is sure to deteriorate and succumb to powers that are more attentive to their material interests, and that would not hesitate to put on it their yoke of subjection out of consideration for its higher spiritual attainments. The Hindu society primarily looked to its members in the *gṛhasthāśrama* for its preservation and improvement in all matters; and if by gradual changes of thought which were not, or could not be corrected in time, their conception of the ideal duties of this portion of their life be influenced in the majority of them by an all-absorbing aspiration for divine contemplation, and not for secular work which in the proper spirit may also be pursued as religion, the result cannot but be disastrous to society. The 'stages of life' with their proper allotment of duties were so planned that each had a particular contribution to make to the ideals of human life and to minister to the necessities of the society. If, by circumstances, the second 'stage' (as also, of course, any other stage) be diverted away by a misconception from serving the purposes for which it was intended, the whole body politic falls out of gear. It must not be supposed that I mean to say that people in this *āśrama* should be of materialistic tendencies, in order that they might cling to things of this earth to preserve and improve them. On the other hand, action accompanied with the thought and deliberation necessary to make it fruitful can be characterized by a spirit that can raise it to a very high level of moral and spiritual worth, and this is a view of life that was not unknown to the Hindus. Life with action as its objective pursued in the right spirit ought to be as a rule the peculiar feature of the second *āśrama*, relegating purely contemplative life to its appropriate place in the later 'stages'. In this way alone can the strength of a society in all spheres of its activities be maintained and increased, and not by allowing the 'stage of life' to be engulfed by the later ones. The material degeneration of the Hindu body politic was due mainly to this encroachment of the ideal of life of the third and fourth 'stages' upon that of the second, and not due to the intrinsic inanity of their spiritual belief and culture, a conclusion that is generally drawn as a corollary to the supposition that spirtuality, the outstanding trait of the Hindu character, was principally responsible for their decline in material prosperity, while really it was its misapplication as shown above. One feature stands out clearly, namely, that the organization of the four inter-connected *āśramas*, peculiar to India as it is, proved to be the instrument through which was expressed the peculiar Hindu psychosis with its deep spiritual tendencies, and which, by passing every member of the three higher castes through the first two 'stages of life' with their duties and obligations discharged in compliance with the generally stricter discipline of those days, intended to make and keep him fit for the life that awaits him in the next two 'stages'. This organization, not found in any other country, served to maintain the regular supply of a large number of persons who were each given opportunities for entering the higher life under the direction of the adepts, who again could thus obtain greater opportunities of lifting a large number of persons from among the initiated to the highest rung of spiritual life. When the organization of *āśramas* was dislocated, there ceased to be a a smooth and ordered flow of the stream. The adepts were in want of sufficient desirable candidates as the result of the defective functioning of the first two *āśramas*, while the people in the *āśramas* themselves deviated in a much larger measure than formerly from the prescribed duties and obligations, which were wisely meant to contribute both to secular welfare and to spiritual benefit. Every body at any time of the first two stages of life thought himself fit for the spiritual life that was, as a rule, reserved for the last two stages, because spiritual life could easily be transformed into one of idleness without loss of public esteem, while duties for secular benefit meant physical and intellectual labour, which could not be very alluring, as they could not so easily be counterfeited and yet passed round as pure gold. I do not mean to say that any body below fifty, when usually the third stage commences, is unfit for spiritual progress; far from that. What I mean to say is that a thing which may be successful in individual cases may not be proper and desirable as a rule of general application to a community, a race, or a nation. It is essential to every country that it should always possess a desirable proportion of its members in the second 'stage of life' or its equivalent, attentive to, or even zealous in the pursuit of their secular duties, and not apathetic to their performance; for upon them depends principally the material welfare of the country. This evil of confusion in the sequence which the duties of human life should generally follow, and the disorganization of the *āśramas* in other ways, brought about, on the one hand, a paucity of virile and earnest workers in the secular fields of activities, which was principally responsible for the material degeneration of the country, while on the other hand, they caused the failure of the country to conserve and at the same time keep distributed among a large number of people the highest spiritual attainments, which henceforth commenced to be confined to a lesser and lesser number of adepts, between whom and the people of the *gṛhasthāśrama*, came to intervene a gulf which gradually became

The evil consequences of disharmony between the 'stages of life' material and spiritual.

wider; while formerly, it was the *gṛhasthāśrama* that led on naturally to the next two stages, in which the spiritual masters were, as a matter of course, ready to take within their fold the newcomers, who had completed their first two stages which were generally calculated to train their mind and body for the next stage. The consequence has been that at present there exist between the two classes a mutual mistrust and misunderstanding that have been heightened by the modern western spirit. This spirit faithful to the methods of western science appears to demand from the Hindus, 'If your adepts in *yoga*, *jñāna*, and *bhakti* have treasured up the highest truths, let them come, preach about, and demonstrate before the unbelieving masses the reality of their pretensions, just as the modern discoverers of truths in the physical sciences, instead of munching their truths in caves or cloisters, demonstrate before the wondering masses their discoveries in an intelligible form, or in their concrete and useful applications'.

The aeroplane or the gramophone, the telephone, the telegraph, or the steam-engine leaves no room for doubt in the minds of the people that the western science has attained to a great height and is rising daily to higher heights, and that it is worth while spending time, labour, and money in learning the means by

The mode of cultivation of physical sciences radically different from that of acquisition of spiritual culture.

which the truths have been discovered and applied. Thus the people feel naturally attracted towards the sciences, which do not run the risk of being lost for want of learners, or of being confined to the fortunate few. There is much truth in these statements, which however miss a point that should be considered. Are spiritual and physical sciences of such a kindred nature that what can be demanded or applied to one can also be done to the other ? The answer, I think, should be partially negative, and partially affirmative. Let us turn to the negative portion of the answer first. The cultivation of the spiritual science is essentially an inner realization of spiritual truths, an uplifting of the whole man, a culture of the soul that tears asunder the veil that conceals from view the ultimate realities, a direct communion with the ultimate consciousness, of which the universe is but a manifestation. The learning of the physical science is not necessarily connected with the mental and moral nature of the man, and not dependent upon their uplift. A scientific man would not necessarily experience his moral depravity to be an obstacle in the way of mastering the physical sciences, for such a mastery has connexion only with the exercise of his intellect and not with his whole self. For this reason, a man cannot make much spiritual progress, even if he be put on the track, unless he purges his self of its evil qualities and worldly propensities. Next, as to the affirmative portion of the above answer, it should be stated that spiritual progress puts within the reach of the *sādhaka* certain powers, which may be utilized for spiritual benefit in view of the new vistas by which many things that are now objects of guesses or doubts become matters of certain knowledge, offering grounds for the solution of many problems of the supersensual world, and steadying generally his belief in many directions ; while, on the other hand, these powers are standing temptations to use them for selfish, worldly purposes, or even for working positive evil for selfish ends, which of course bring sooner or later the punishment in the downfall of the *sādhaka*. This abuse of the powers, which is so very likely to take place unless the learner is equipped by an elevation of his self and his desire for spiritual life higher than the stages at which the powers can be acquired (specially in these days of absence of preliminary training given by the first two 'stages of life') is one of the causes that make the adepts so very reluctant to admit as *celās* any and every body that may be animated by a passing desire to be put on the track. Besides, it means to the *Guru* waste of time and much labour which could have been more beneficially utilized by him, if the disciple falls off in the midst of his journey. This is another deterrent. Exhibitions of the powers constitute the demonstrations that are demanded by the modern spirit ; but these demonstrations are not altogether absent in these days, though they are liable to be misinterpreted or dismissed as products of too much credulity of the spectators. But yet there are several accounts of such manifestations of powers witnessed by the Europeans themselves with their characteristic observing habits, and sceptic attitude towards such manifestations, from which it cannot be denied that the realities were otherwise than as the accounts describe them. I leave out of consideration the accounts penned by Indian writers as they are likely to be taken at a discount in regard to the present question. I have no space for quoting from the European accounts ; suffice it to say that they relate not only to powers dominating the physique and the physical world, but also to those over the mind, which constitute the peculiar conquests of the *sādhakas* and which are but dimly seen through these occasional manifestations necessitated by the particular circumstances of each case. But as already mentioned, these powers come in the train of *sādhana*, and as they tend to be temptations on the path of the devotees, their proper place demands them either to be set aside, or utilized for further progress, but never to be used as instruments of achieving selfish ends. But even these manifestations, occasional and few as they are, are very often disbelieved ; but they are the only material and visible evidences of the internal acquisitions of an adept ; and as such an attitude fails to rouse a spirit of systematic enquiry, the gulf separating the spiritual culture from the man of today tends ever to increase, though of course there are movements at work, feeble though they be, aiming to bridge it over as far as possible.

Sādhana, the essence of religion.

The Hindus, from very ancient times, have thought it essential to spiritual progress that the truths which may be elicited by philosophical reasonings as well as beliefs should be combined with and expressed in *sādhana*. Mere discussions of philosophical problems as carried on by man's limited intellectual powers are ill able to grasp the nature of the Infinite that they propose to tackle, but it is *sādhana* that can effect a realization of that Infinite. A whole-hearted desire to achieve the ends of religion requiring the concentration and direction of mental and physical energies in that direction constitutes the means through which the *sādhana* is to be effected. In the earliest stage of this *sādhana* in the Vedic period, it emphasized the rituals

The paths of sādhana.

(*karma-kāṇḍa*), but soon it ran concurrent with the one that lays stress on the strenuous and constant intellectual cognition of the oneness of the self localized in the individual with the Greater Self constituting the universe. Later on, it was followed by the emphasis laid by the *Gītā* on the *selfless performance of duties* (through which alone God's will can be done), as constituting the same, while the *Purāṇas* utilized the emotional side of man's nature for the purpose. The 'stages' from the *Upaniṣads* downwards point to three paths in which the intellect, the will and actions, and the emotions of man are respectively brought into prominence, and styled *jñāna-yoga*, *karma-yoga*, and *bhakti-yoga*. It must not be supposed that the stress laid on the intellect, or will, or emotions, in a particular path implies the absolute exclusion of the exercise of the other two; for such an exclusion is impossible. The use of the word *yoga* in the above names of the paths is significant; for *yoga* means the concentration of the whole energies of man, while *jñāna-yoga*, *karma-yoga*, and *bhakti-yoga* signify the expression of the concentrated energies principally through the application of the intellect, the will, and the feeling respectively in the prescribed way for religious purposes. The *jnāna-yoga* need not always be aided by the *rāja-yoga* or *haṭha-yoga* but very often, a pursuer of the former course takes to the latter. Control of the senses, purity of life, and a sincere and strong desire to get out of the trammels of this world are taken as the necessary requisites in all the three paths for reaching the final goal.

The path of bhakti, the subject-matter of the Purāṇas, specially the Bhāgavata.

Bhakti is the chief subject-matter of the *Purāṇas*, though in the enumeration of its objectives, and in reality, other matters find a place alongside of the treatment of this principal topic. I am here principally concerned with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the work upon which the *Muktāphalam* is based, and which constitutes in theory as well as in practice the fifth Veda, which all the eighteen *Purāṇas* are looked upon to be, to the *vaiṣṇavas*. The practice of *bhakti* in its simplest form is much less arduous than the other two courses of *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga* mentioned above, though to a certain extent, and specially in its advanced stages, it does involve the constituents of both *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*.

Bhakti is also the chief ingredient of the *Tantras* which, so far as I see, may be distinguished from the *Purāṇas* by the following differences :—

(1) The practice of non-attachment to this world (*vairāgya*) is much more empha-

sized in the *Purāṇas* and is inculcated upon a follower of the path from the very beginning, while the *Mantras* try to bring about this non-attachment by allowing a greater latitude to enjoyments in the prescribed manner.

Difference between the Tantras and the Purāṇas though *bhakti* is their common subject-matter.

(2) In the *Purāṇas* we do not find the abundant use of *Mantras*, rituals, and *yoga* exercises that we find in the *Tantras*.

(3) The *Tantras* are absent in the *Purāṇas*.

(4) The *Tantras* principally inculcate the feeling of the son to his mother in the practice of *bhakti* by their followers, while in the *Bhāgavata* is found the exercise of various other feelings.

(5) The use of matters relating to the ancient history of India as well as the ancient secular lore is less in the *Tantras* than in the *Purāṇas*.

The common ground on which both the classes meet is the adaptation of the various means prescribed by them to the capacities and inclinations of the *sādhakas*, though, of course, the lines on which it is effected are different.

The essence of bhakti.

The essence of *bhakti* lies in the establishment of a personal nexus between the devotee and the Deity, and the expression of the heart's devotion to Him in and through that relation, which becomes to him a never-failing source of attraction and inspiration, colouring all his actions and outlook on life.

In the ordinary social relations, we notice how strong are some of the feelings that underlie them. The affection of the parents for the son or *vice versa*, the attachment of a friend, the conjugal love, or the love between the lover and the beloved, the devotion of a faithful servant to his master are often seen to be characterized by a force, impetuosity, and selflessness that nothing can resist or destroy. The strength or attraction of feelings of enmity, terror, pity, wonder, mirth, disgust, &c., is also great, but their fitness for use by *sādhakas* as the basis of a permanent attitude towards the Deity is much less than the aforesaid set of feelings in view either of their occasional and temporary character, or their peculiar character which does not appeal to them for use towards the God they worship. The appropriateness of the first set of feelings for such use is recognized by the *Vaiṣṇavas*, though in the *Bhāgavata*, the other set is also brought into play. The feeling of reverence as of the son to father is recognized by some as the only feeling that should be entertained by a man towards the Creator, and in the mind of such people, the entertainment of any other feelings towards Him conflicts against this deep-rooted notion. In the *Bhāgavata*, the *śāntabhāva*, or the selfless devotion to the

Deity corresponds to this feeling of reverence if it be deep and accompanied with the renunciation of selfishness. People to whom this attitude appeals as the best may not imagine that there is scope for the operation of other feelings which might be equally deep-rooted but more dynamic and engrossing than the mere feeling of reverence can be. In view of the volcanic and forceful nature of the feelings, and the tendencies of the human mind to attach themselves to the Deity through the relation that appeals most to the individual concerned in accordance with his peculiar mental and physical make-up, the *Bhāgavata* utilized them by chalking out or suggesting the ways of such *sādhakas* in its pages through the various incidents or stories with the philosophy or the moral underlying them, and the courses of *sādhana* to which they point, engrafted into the incidents and traditions associated with the great Kṛṣna of the *Mahābhārata*, and of course, believed as actual incidents by the *sādhakas.* The historicity of the narrations is of little importance from the religious standpoint, provided they rouse the intended emotions and prompt them to the desired courses of action. It was this kind of religious attitude with absolute indifference to the historicity of the incidents that made the Hindus so very much liable to criticisms by the western scholars who assay the *Purāṇas* by the amount of historical materials that can be extracted from them and whose unfavourable criticisms have served to depreciate them so much in the eye of the Hindus themselves not perceiving the inappropriateness of such a criterion; but the elicitation and use of the feelings for religious purposes served capitally the object of the *Bhāgavata.*

The postulates of the bhakti cult.

The harnessing of the feelings for the religious object rests upon a few premises which are believed as true by the *Vaiṣṇavas*:

(1) It is possible to move the Consciousness behind the phenomenal world by the direction of a whole-hearted, selfless devotion of the heart towards Him as expressed through any one of the aforesaid feelings.

(2) The Deity can be moved by the heart's devotion of the *sādhaka* to assume any form in which He is contemplated and wanted by the devotee to appear and hold communion with him. The Creator of all forms in the universe need not be lacking in the power of giving himself a form if He so wishes.

(3) It is not possible to hold communion with Him unless He limits his infinite glory to adapt it to the senses of human beings with their extremely limited powers. Neither Arjuna in the *Gītā* nor Yaśodā in the *Bhāgavata* could bear to look at His cosmic appearance.

(4) The constant pervasion of the devotee's mind by the memory of the Deity either in a friendly or a hostile attitude towards Him exercises tremendous force in bringing about the desired form of liberation of the self.

The philosophical background of bhakti.

The *Iṣṭa-Devatā* (Deity) is ultimately the Brahman of the Vedāntins, and the Paramātmā (Supreme Soul) of the Yogins, pervading the universe and being its efficient and material cause. He is immanent in the world but greater than the same. In short, the basic conclusions of the Vedānta in its *dvaita* form are interwoven into the principles of Vaiṣṇavism to supply its philosophic background, while the psychology of the Sāṅkhya philosophy is utilized whenever needed. This process of assimilation is also extended to the principles of the Yoga philosophy and the Tantric rituals, but of this we shall have occasion to speak later on. The outstanding feature of the *Purāṇas* is to make concrete the abstract thoughts by expressing them through events and imagery furnished by history and tradition, and thus to make them easily intelligible to people who may not feel attracted or whose minds may not be trained to master philosophical conclusions in the abstract; but if they be dispensed to them in a mixture of the kind made by the *Purāṇas*, the assimilation of such truths by the masses can be made more rapid. This was the work that was actually accomplished by them in early India, and that is one of the causes which served to spread and preserve mental and spiritual culture among the masses and even in the lowest strata of Hindu society.

To realize how the *Bhāgavata* effected the above results by a combination of the elements already mentioned would be clear from its tenth book, which constitutes the best portion of the *Purāṇa* from the *vaiṣṇava* standpoint. There all the feelings (*rasas*) are brought into play through the actions of its central figure Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the incidents connected with his life. The outlines of his career are similar to those of the *Mahābhārata* but many incidents fulfilling the purposes of the *Purāṇa* appear in it without having their counterpart in the epic. In the picture thus furnished, the great personage, who in the eye of modern history was a human being endowed, in an eminent degree, with all those qualities of head and heart that served to make him almost super-human, appears as *Bhagavan* or in other words the Brahman or Paramātman incarnating and assuming limitations upon his powers, mixes with human beings as one of them to be treated as the son, friend, enemy, master, husband, or lover, to accept the homage of the devotee, to save the distressed, to please by his light frolics, to destroy the wicked, to lay low the haughty, and in fact to do everything that was necessary for maintaining the human relations and the feelings underlying them. But interspersed through his career are super-human feats and incidents in which even the gods are shown to pay him homage with the object of keeping this idea alive that his fleshly vesture was but a cover to the infinite powers that lurked beneath, enabling the finite human beings to be tied to him by a personal nexus, which constitutes the central essence of *bhakti*. The doings of Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Bhāgavata* can be classified in accordance with the particular feeling or feelings to which they appeal, and which form, as it were, the channels along which the minds of the devotees might be set adrift to rouse in themselves the particular feeling or feelings which they have taken as the means of their *sādhana*. The classification has been done by the *Muktāphalam* in its last few chapters, the importance of which can be realized only when we take note of the high place occupied by these feelings in the *sādhana* of *bhakti*. The passages thus culled out by Vopadeva from the whole work enable the reader to see at a glance their particular significance in relation to the various classes of feelings in order that their real bearing may not be missed by the readers.

The classification of the feelings.

In the feelings already mentioned, a broad distinction is drawn between the group of five, viz., *śānta* (selfless and reverent devotion), *dāsya* (devotion as of servant to master), *sakhya* (friendship), *vātsalya* (paternal affection for son), and *madhura* (conjugal love, or love between the lover and the beloved) on one side, and the rest of the feelings on the other in view of the occasional, temporary or disagreeable nature of the latter. The feeling of enmity, for instance, entertained by Kaṃsa towards Kṛṣṇa stirred his inner nature to its depths and made him constantly think of Kṛṣṇa which at last brought about his liberation, but a devotee would be very reluctant to entertain this unwelcome feeling towards the Deity, though, as suggested in the *Bhāgavata*, the final result may be brought about by it as effectively as any one of the aforesaid group of five. Any one or more of the second group of feelings may sometimes be mixed with any one of the first as an ingredient to make the latter more poignant; and from this also we find their secondary position in comparison with the five principal feelings.

Among these five feelings of *śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *maḍhura*, each of the last four includes the elements of the preceding ones in its composition. Thus *madhura* subsumes under it the four feelings from *śānta* to *vātsalya* while *vātsalya* the three feelings from *śānta* to *sakhya*, and so forth. It is for this reason that the *madhura* feeling is considered the highest in the scale and the most complete. The potency of this feeling in its ruder form among the lower animals up to its highest form among the human beings is recognized on all hands, and the use of this dynamic force combined with the purity of life, control of the senses, and non-attachment to this world were discovered early by the *Vaiṣṇavas*.

Madhura, the most comprehensive feeling.

One peculiarity of this *sādhana* through love is that the Deity is invariably looked upon as the lover to whom the whole-hearted self-abnegating love of the devotee is due. A notable departure in this respect is found elsewhere *e. g.* among the Sufis, where the Deity may be given the opposite rôle.

An effective use of the feelings requires that the object towards whom they are directed should be clearly and vividly present before the mind. Hence the necessity not only of describing Kṛṣṇa's deeds (*līlā*) but also delineating his external appearance with the minutest details. This has been done in many places in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vaiṣṇava* literature generally. The origin of the particular appearance of Kṛṣṇa with the dark complexion might have had a connexion with the actual complexion of Kṛṣṇa

The need for concreteness in the object of love and cogitation, supplied by the delineation of Kṛṣṇa's external appearance and his līlā.

as an historical figure ; but the appearance that is depicted is an ideal one, meant as it is to be perfect in all its features according to the conventional criterion of beauty in order that it might impress the mind of the *sādhaka*, at least symbolically, with the idea that he is the source of all beauty in the universe. In the writings of *Vaiṣṇava* authors, attempts have been made to explain the individual features of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, some of which are highly appealing ; but whether they represent the actual ideas in which they originated are more than can be said at this distance of time. The lute of Kṛṣṇa is the theme of innumerable passages of *Vaiṣṇava* works. It is taken to be the symbol of that *ānanda* which attracts in its cruder forms the lower organisms, and in its higher, the more advanced, and in pursuit of which the whole universe is mad. It is the blessedness, which is more charming than the full aggregate of worldly attractions in the eye of the *sādhakas*, who are ready to forsake every thing material, and go through the severest penances to have its taste. A complete and vivid impression of the figure of the Deity is essential also to contemplation in both its simple and complex forms ; for *sabīja yoga* (*i. e.* contemplation of the figure of the

Deity instead of the *nirbīja yoga* of the *yogins*, in which figure is absent) is open to *bhaktas*[1] who wish to take to it, though super-conscious stages corresponding to the highest stages in *yoga* can be attained through the awakening of the emotions themselves such as *sātvikabhāva*, and *mahābhāva*[2]. Combined with the memory of his deeds, His figure also works upon the mind of devotees engaged in reciting His name or singing His praises based on His acts described in the *Purāṇas*. Needless to mention that the image that is ordinarily made for worship only materializes the traditional conception.

It is around this centre of Kṛṣṇa's figure enlivened by the philosophic ideas concretized into the conception, and the attractive associations supplied by the deeds and incidents of His career appealing to the various feelings of His devotees and furnishing the channels along which to direct them, that a cult has grown, so elastic, and adaptable to the needs of the *sādhakas* according to their character and inclinations. The highest place among the feelings, as means of influencing and directing the whole mental energies of man towards the Deity, is given to love by reason of its potency for stirring their nature to its depths and involving the elements of the other four principal feelings in its composition. A cult or a religion is nothing if it fails to influence the entire psychosis of its adherents; if a formal compliance with certain formularies, which do not touch even the fringe-area of the mind be called religion, a greater mistake cannot be made. The aim of the *Bhāgavata* cult is to influence directly the heart of the devotee in order that the whole man might be easily influenced to regulate at all times his mind and actions in conformity with his real position in relation to the future world and the Deity on the one hand, and this world with its evanescent charms and imperative duties on the other, which the *Bhāgavata* and its ancillary literature try to bring home to his mind by their concrete delineations.

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[1] See *Bhāgavata*, XI, 14.

[2] See *Ujjvala-Nīlamaṇiḥ* by Rūpa Gosvāmī ; also *Bhāgavata*, VII, 7 ; XI, 2.

The reason why bhakti can influence the entire psychosis of its adherents.

Both the aspects of love, viz., conjugal and romantic (i. e. as between a lover and the beloved) find a place in the *Bhāgavata*. The former has been given expression at Dwaraka through Kṛṣṇa and his wives, while the latter finds scope for play at Brindaban and Mathura, but to the best advantage at the first mentioned place. The introduction of love, specially in

Conjugal and romantic love as nexus between the Deity and the devotee.

its freer form, has made the Kṛṣṇa cult the butt-end of attacks and ridicule. The underlying motive that has led to the introduction of this sentiment is often missed in the nebula of preconceived notions, the heat of controversy, or the want of the right psycho-historical standpoint, from which the question must be viewed before we can hope to arrive at the right conclusion. The first query that demands an answer at the outset is whether the great power of the emotions as a motive force, and their utility, if rightly used for religious purposes is admitted or not. If the answer be negative, a wall sets in between this and the *Vaiṣṇava* standpoint, and the people holding them are set apart without the hope of mutual understanding at any time. If the answer be affirmative, the use of the feelings, specially the first four of the said group of five, is to stand beyond objection. At this point, a second query awaits a reply viz. why should love, conjugal or romantic, be left out ? The answer may perhaps go so far as to assent to the inclusion of conjugal love, but not the other, in view of its detrimental influence upon society and the hostile attitude of the codes of social morality towards same. The *Vaiṣṇava śāstra* is fully aware of the socially detrimental character of romantic love which, in the *Bhāgavata*, denotes the secret love of a married woman towards a lover (*upa-*

pati), though her husband is entitled to the whole of her heart. But inspite of this harmful nature of the feeling from the social standpoint, two features of such secret love cannot be ignored viz. (i) its intensity, fervency, and constant freshness; and (ii) the readiness of the beloved to face any amount of sacrifice of name and social status and other advantages combined with the occasions for actually making such sacrifices, which are absent in married love. In the romantic love adopted by the *Bhāgavata* for its purpose, it has engrafted on it these two features, but has put on it rigorous limitations for eliminating its harmful character, as will be apparent from its following aspects :—

(1) It has no scope for use except towards the Lord of the universe in human form in His peculiar setting at Golaka, or its earthly counterpart Brindaban, which is adapted to the exercise of this feeling. Though He is called *upa-pati* according to the ordinary phraseology, and the sentiment which is directed towards Him is called the *upa-pati-bhāva*, two radical differences between the sentiment in the *Bhāgavata* and the ordinary *upa-pati-bhava*, should be borne in mind viz. (a) it is not of the form that is rooted in the changefulness of its object, and in selfishness, and (b) the object of love in the *Bhāgavata* is the conscious Reality that exists everywhere, and pervades all forms of beings. In loving a

lover or a sweetheart, what is really loved is the real substratum of his or her being, and this is no other than the *Bhagavat* of the *Bhāgavatas* corresponding to the *Brahman* of the *Vedāntins*, and the *Paramātman* of the Yogins. But man lives in the phenomenal world, and in his eye, the ordinary separateness, that exists between one human being and another, must exist between a resident of Brindaban, and Kṛṣṇa in his human form ; and this superficial view has been pressed into service to maintain the sentiment ordinarily styled *upa-pati-bhāva*.

So between the conjugal love at Dwaraka and the romantic love at Brindaban, as treated in the *Bhāgavata*, the limitations that are brought into play put the latter on a par with the former in regard to the steadfastness with which their object is loved in the two cases ; while at the same time, the love at Brindaban is combined with the two elements of fervency, and opportunities for self-sacrifice which are not present in the same high degree in conjugal love. The very element of secrecy with which romantic love is pursued, and the difficulties that clog its way, are causes for heightening its fervency and romance, and the imminent actual risks and losses extending to the sacrifice of every thing worldly present the opportunities by which the self-abnegation of the beloved is ever brought into play and put in the forefront; while the direction of that love towards Bhagavat purges it of the trace of any evil that might be suspected to have come in by reason of its semblance to a kind of love that in its full form is considered obnoxious in society. This is the reason why in the *Bhāgavata* the love of the Gopīs is put on a higher level than the love of Kṛṣṇa's wives for Kṛṣṇa at Dwaraka.

The stages leading to complete self-abnegation, and devotion of the individual self to Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Self, are well marked in the *Bhāgavata* in these six chapters, viz., Bk. X, 22 and 29-33. They make it clear that complete devotion of the body and the soul to the Supreme Soul is implied. By a logical extension of this premiss, the *Bhāgavata* has been, in the connected portions of the chapters, frankly detailed in its references to the physical aspect of the devotion, which appear coarse to a present day reader. Though, no doubt, they could have been substituted by mere hints, there are considerations which should not be ignored in understanding the angle of vision by which they appeared in a different light: (1) The *sādhaka*,, for whom the *rāsa-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is meant to be an *avalambana* (support) for his thoughts, supposes his own soul, under the instruction of his *Guru*, as an humblest attendant of a principal Gopī (say as a *mañjarī*, as the great Sanātana and others did) with allotted services but intercepted from greater opportunities of personal service to Him by higher grades of service. This *mañjarī*, like all others of the group, identifies herself completely with the Gopī's weal and woe dependent, of course, on Kṛṣṇa alone. The sole self-less care of the *mañjarī* is to be helpful, in however feeble a way, in contributing to the happiness of her leader by serving her and Kṛṣṇa, her own happiness lying in and through such service. The relation in which the *sādhaka* stands to the above *līlā* is therefore clear.

(2) The Gopī is to be without a trace of selfishness and whatever she does is at Kṛṣṇa's will and for his happiness. After the stage of the *rāsa-līlā* to which exception may be taken, all the Gopīs are forsaken by Kṛṣṇa, because a trace of pride, and therefore the reverse of the idea of self completely devoted to Him, creeps into their mind ; and the only Gopī with whom He continued company is the one whose mind is cast in unswerving selflessness. So the higher degrees of mental and spiritual height that are demanded in the union of the individual soul of the Gopī with the Supreme Soul are clearly manifest, though the human shapes which clothe them involve a physical element that is sublimated by the elimination of its selfishness, and by the offering of same

to the incarnate Controller of Cupid (*manmatha-manmatha*) in pursuance of the belief that fire-like He can consume the grosser part of human love directed towards Him.

(3) The ideas that usually arise in the mind by the coarse phraseology were and are found to be stifled and replaced by the serious and venerable associations incident to the train of thoughts that a devotee has, even at the mention of the name of Kṛṣṇa, not to speak of the incidents of his life as depicted in the portions of the *Bhāgavata* like that devoted to *rāsa-līlā*. A parallel to such radical differences in the train of thought may be drawn from the phallic symbol which gives rise to the most hallowed feelings in the mind of a devotee, while it strikes another differently.

The higher stages of *rāsa-līlā* represent the further progress of the individual soul in its union with the supreme when the former becomes wholly interpenetrated by the latter. The *bhakta* does not wish to annihilate his self in the supreme self, but wants to retain his individuality only in so far as it is required for devotion and service. For the highest stage of *sādhana* on this line, he is ready to give up everything valuable from any other standpoint, even the form of salvation which seeks the loss of individual existence, or the acquisition of power, or pleasure of any kind. With the realization of this stage, even infinite suffering experienced for a work, considered as a duty in the service of the Lord, can prove a source of happiness to him.

The instrumentality of mere emotions directed as aforesaid is only one of the means of *bhakti-sādhana ;* for it is open to *bhakti* to combine with itself the *rāja-yoga* comprising the meditation of the particular *mūrti* of the *Iṣṭa-Devatā* as required by the personal tie subsisting between him and the Devatā. This utilization of *yoga* by *bhakti* is mentioned in the 11th book of the *Bhāgavata* as already pointed out, while also the selfless spirit required and developed by *bhakti* furnishes an excellent scope for the play of *karma-yoga.*

The romantic love as adopted by the *Bhāgavata* as a means of *sādhana* should be understood in its true connotation, and must not be confused with the lower forms of love which are also mentioned in the *Purāṇa* but with due recognition of their lower positions.

The attempt to show that the chapters dealing with this love are later additions, even if successful, cannot bar the conclusion that there developed at some time or other a mode of *sādhana* through utilization of this sentiment in its true connotation, which was followed by devotees in growing numbers with the results as recorded in the various works on the subject.

In view of the early date claimed by Arthur Avalon for the development of Tāntrikism, and the new light that is gradually being thrown on the various questions relating to the subject, it is difficult to state for certain, at present, whether in the application of the emotions for religious purposes, the Vaiṣṇava cult did not borrow ideas from the Tāntriks. It can however be reasonably said that there took place mutual assimilation of ideas and practices between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Tāntriks, the results of which are found in the tāntrik developments of Vaiṣṇava ideas and practices, and Vaiṣṇava assimilations of same from the tāntriks. In the utilization of the sentiment of love for *sādhana*, the modes recommended in the *Bhāgavata* are characterized by restraint *ab initio*, while the tāntrik modes (leaving out of view the aberrations) permit, if need be, the withdrawal of restraint on particular line to evoke the ultimate control over the senses. The way in which the great Bengali poet Caṇḍidāsa performed his *sādhana* is only one of a large class of instances which, by the above criterion, appear to have a tāntrik touch. The various other feelings are also mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* as being effective in securing the final weal of the souls of persons entertaining them. They have been classified and clearly set out in the various chapters of the *Muktāphalam*.

Their effectiveness lies in the belief already mentioned that constant cogitation of the Deity brought about by the feelings gives rise to the said result, however agreeable or disagreeable be the feelings themselves. For use by *sādhakas*, many of them may have no value at all, but their depiction is meant to impress upon the devotee the power of constant cogitation about the *Iṣṭa Devatā.*

Upon these basesin the *Bhāgavata* has grown an extensive literature, of which a large portion deals with the philosophical substratum of *bhakti* or makes a detailed analysis of the emotions and their application for purposes of *bhakti.* It was the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇava literature, specially after Śrī Caitanya, that applied itself, more than any other, to the work of this analysis of love and application of the results in the actions and inter-actions of the various persons and groups of persons that cluster round the central Kṛṣṇa. The general *rasa śāstras* that had been extant were, of course, laid under contribution in the process. The object of all this was to make the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa more graphic and ramified in order that the devotee can lean on them with ease, and be attracted and attached to the cult by the larger number of supports, upon which his mind can rest for cogitation, religious diversion, and the relishing of the elicitations of various *rasas* in their direct or indirect relation to the Deity.

The *Bhāgavata* depicts an ideal place in which *bhakti* in its various aspects finds scope for exercise. Here, any thing is sacred from a particle of dust to the prominent partakers of the *līlā*. It is the earthly counterpart of Golaka, and held in the highest reverence by the denizens of heaven and all grades of divine and supernatural beings. The very trees and creepers and the lower animals exist in the place by virtue of their rare good luck, while the Vedas, as well as the souls in the highest stage of spiritual culture are incarnate there as the Gopīs. The beauty of the locality with its gurgling Yamunā, flowering and fruit-bearing plants and trees of all descriptions, and the silvery notes of the cuckoo and other birds are entrancing; while to crown them all, there are the music of Kṛṣṇa's lute and His ecstatic personality.

Such is Brindaban with its ideal features, having its appropriate location in the devotee's heart. The surroundings in which the wielder of the universe spent his early career, setting to human beings new lines of approach towards him, ought to befit the beauty and grandeur of the incidents that took place, and therefore, it is no wonder that their description should undergo a process of idealization. The earthly Brindaban is the material counterpart of the mental reality and is believed to be a place indissolubly and in a special degree associated with Kṛṣṇa's presence. It is in this belief that for the purpose of *sādhana*, devotees take to this place, which by its traditional connection with the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa generally, and His particular actions with particular portions of the locality present before them a graphic reality and a living environment that steady or otherwise help their mental process involved in the acts of *sādhana*. But it is mind and mind alone of the devotee that can secure an immediate realization of the Deity either there or at any other place, which, the Vaiṣṇavas believe on the grounds already mentioned, to have actually taken place in the case of several *bhaktas* by virtue of their extreme devotion. The narratives of their success in *sādhana* are recorded in works like the *Bhaktiratnākara*, which, to the mind of the *bhakta*, prove the permanence of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and the efficacy of Brindaban, in and through which it is realized.

Why the path of bhakti is easier.

The path of *bhakti* is said to be easier than any other for the following reasons :—(1) It emphasizes the use of the emotions,—the very spring of action, to the exclusion, if so required by the devotee, of its combination with *rāja-yoga*, or *karma-yoga*, which presents difficulties ; (2) it always entertains an attitude of compromise towards the erring masses, who take to this method of *sādhana*, inspires them with courage for further efforts inspite of failures, and puts bofore them a hopeful prospect of a sure achievement of the final goal sooner or later ; (3) it recommends a complete self-surrender to the Deity, and directs the devotee's hope to His mercy, which He might at any moment be pleased to extend to him on account of his whole-hearted efforts proving unsuccessful through his incapacity ; (4) the emotions, by virtue of their intrinsic attraction for men, draw them towards the Deity by their own strength. With feeble beginnings, they become irresistible in time and carry on the devotee along the path of *bhakti* by their own powerful current ; (5) constant remembrance of the Deity or portions of His *līlā* is believed, as already mentioned, to have a great potency for elevating the soul and securing for him the final object. This is secured by what is called the practice of the branches (lit. limbs) of *bhakti*, the number of which is mentioned differently by the *bhaktas* in the different parts of the *Bhāgavata* according as its particular aspects are omitted or taken into account. The following three may, if rightly practised, give rise to help the growth of all the requisites of a *bhakta* such as purity of life, self-control, self-abnegation, non-attachment to this world enumerated in the book :

(a) *śravaṇam* (listening to any thing about the Deity),
(b) *kīrtanam* (repetition of his name or any thing about him),
(c) *smaraṇam* (remembrance of same).

A defect of vaiṣṇavism.

The charge that is often laid at the door of *vaiṣṇavism* is that it advocates *vairāgya* (non-attachment to this world) at all periods and in all 'stages of life' with the consequence that many of its adherents develop idleness mistaken or passed for real *vairāgya*, to the utter neglect of duties attaching to the 'stages of life'. Real mental non-attachment to wordly matters is not antagonistic to wordly duties. It is perfectly expressible through the pursuit of worldly duties without looking to the results and actuated only by a sense of duty and eagerness to perform it in the best way possible only for duty's sake. The idleness that develops often bases itself on fatalism as its underlying philosophy while it is, indeed, one thing to be active without caring for the fruits of actions which are left in a higher hand, and another to be idle and expect the Deity to goad him to action at every step. Self-resignation to the Supreme is not a synonym for idleness and it is the duty of every *vaiṣṇava* to bear in mind that he is as much a member of his family and his society, as much a citizen of the State as any other, with his particular share of duties at particular periods of his life, which, if every body like him tries to throw over his neighbour means the disruption and ruin of the society and the state to which he belongs. It is true that the *Bhāgavata* is not a code of social duties (*smṛti*), and we cannot expect from it any complete treatment of the way in which *vairāgya* should be developed in harmony with the worldly duties. The *Vaiṣṇava smṛti* could have dwelt on the subject but has not. In the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, a *smṛti* work of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, it is the religious duties that have been delineated without any reference to the secular. One of the causes for the devotion of exclusive attention to the religious aspects of the duties lies perhaps in the political state of the country in which the later *vaiṣṇava* literature, that took its cue from the *Bhāgavata*, developed. The bearing of the burden of administration was then but a relegated one for the Hindus generally, and as they were no longer the rulers, it was no more a necessity for them to bother themselves about the maintenance of a harmonious relation between the practice of the religious doctrines that were preached and the 'stages of life' a principal object of which, as already pointed out, was to avert a cleavage between the results of a deeply religious outlook on life and the keeping up of the body politic in its' proper health and strength by an adequate direction of the secular duties. If it be said that it was not necessary for the *vaiṣṇava* works to discourse on the secular duties, as they depended in these matters upon the general *smṛti* works like that of Manu, the answer is that *vairāgya* and *bhakti* have been necessarily freed in the *Vaiṣṇava* books from the obligations that are binding upon the members of the Hindu society in the general codes, and the latitude thus conferred on *vairāgya* and *bhakti* is unjustly utilized by the numerous real or counterfeit approximations to those states of mind, which in fact never fall within the exceptions. It is these deviations from the path of real *bhakti* that have made *vaiṣṇavism* weak in the fields of secular action. Inertia and idleness in the name of *bhakti* and *vairāgya*, not to speak of the mal-formed offshoots that have grown from the pure trunk of the emotion-cult of the *Bhāgavata*, are the diseases that should be remedied before *vaiṣṇavism* can hope to make its adherents strong in action by preventing them from dropping into the pitfalls. The burden of this duty lies on the interpreters of the *Bhāgavata*. It is for them to show how its doctrines are amenable to healthy combination with *karma-yoga*, and how they are adaptable to the healthy uses of human energies in the service of man and society. The

Bhāgavata is a work of *vairāgya*, and it is *vairāgya* that receives the greatest emphasis in its pages from the first to the last. Men are naturally susceptible to the attractions of the material world, to the spells of the senses, that turn their minds away from the religious and spiritual truths that cannot be realized so long as the rays of their light are not allowed to penetrate to the soul by the removal of the thick mist of sensual distractions. The passing away of kingdoms and empires, the humbling of the arrogant inspite of their power, the evanescence of material enjoyments, the shakiness of the worldly props on which our minds lean so confidently, the shortness and uncertainty of human life which can be made an instrument for the highest progress but is generally allowed to be wasted, the hollowness of the sense of 'I'ness often carried to the most selfish extremes, the great extent to which we depend upon a uniform and intelligent regimen by an unseen hand of forces which make our life and the workings of our senses possible either when awake or asleep and yet our forgetfulness of the worker behind the scene, and such other matters are combined with the delineations of the ways of God towards man, and the means by which He can be realized, in touching narratives which are meant to be heard in order that they might mould and uplift his inner nature, and turn his mind towards the permanent Reality behind the fleeting. The *vairāgya* is thus inculcated in all its powerful intensity with a view to cauterize, as it were, by imperceptible, daily applications, the ligaments that tie him so strongly to this world and make him worldly. The *Bhāgavata* cannot be blamed if, at the same time, it does not lay down in detail the ways in which it is to work in combination with the duties of the *gṛhastha* (householder), a 'stage of life' upon which principally depend the maintenance and improvement of the society as a whole ; because, man with his strong material predilections would naturally supply for himself a course of action effecting such a combination. But it is desirable that such a course should have been dwelt on at length in the *vaiṣṇava smṛtis* by the best thinkers for the guidance of the people, instead of being left to the fanciful choice or immature thoughts of the average man ; and an early treatment of such a course of action in the *smṛtis* could have prevented the replacement of secular duties by their religionized and ritualized substitutes. That *work is religion* has been an early Hindu text from the time of the *Gītā*, and the prevention of its disuse in a large measure among the Hindus need not have made it necessary for them to be roused to its importance and learn it afresh by an impact from the West and through its western versions by the European savants.

Diverse topics of the *Muktāphalam.*

The chapters of the *Muktāphalam* from the first to the eleventh have compiled ślokas from the *Bhāgavata* on various topics relating to *Viṣṇu* and his manifestations, his presence in all beings, his *bhaktas*, and the various 'limbs of *bhakti*'. The delineation of Viṣṇu's manifestations has its significance in the fact that a manifestation was assumed with a particular intention or was connected with a particular phase of his activities, and may be chosen as the object of worship by a *bhakta* according as a manifestation appeals to him supremely, or is considered to bring him a particular form of well-being of which he is desirous. It should also be borne in mind that no manifestation of Viṣṇu is amenable to worship in any spirit except those of *śānta* and *dāsya*, while *Kṛṣṇa* can be the object of worship with all the feelings from *śānta* to *madhura*. The feeling of reverence, however, which conduces to the maintenance of a distance between the devotee and the object of worship often inclines the *śānta* and *dāsya* worshippers to resort to Nārāyaṇa or some other manifestation, which by its deviation from the human form, or association with awe-inspiring or other deeds does not afford any scope for feelings other than *śānta* and *dāsya*.

Conclusion.

I have now touched upon certain view-points from which the development of *Vaiṣṇava sādhana* and the ideas and beliefs underlying it may be seen with a significance usually missed by those who do not look at them with the eye of belief. The stand-point of wholesale belief, on the other hand, that attempts to substantiate every tittle of the ancient lore garnered in the *Bhāgavata*. does not appeal to people of the present age, usually desiring to have some reason in their beliefs, and not at all ready to accept those statements which conflict with the extant conclusions of modern science. The ancient religious books of almost all religions contain, more or less, generalizations which do not tally with the results of modern scientific investigations, and the infallibility claimed for the religious works is thereby impeached inspite of attempts of some of the interpreters to justify the generalizations by drawing out allegorical or esoteric meanings, which often defeat their own objects by being uncouth and far-fetched. The distrust created by this conflict of portions of ancient lore with the truths of science tends to be extended to the spiritual and religious matters upon which really the value of the works is and should be recognized as based. The better course, I think, for the religious interpreters would be to draw a clear line of demarcation between the essential and the non-essential, and thus prevent a wholesale rejection of both, resulting in the consequences that we find in abundance around us at the present moment. It is feared that such a line of separation expressly pointed out may diminish further the sanctity and weight of the works than is desirable ; but the harm it has done is more than it would perhaps have been by the adoption of the alternative. In any case, the line has to be drawn to prevent the growing spread of distrust in the essential portions of the religious works along with that in the unessential.

I have attempted in this discourse to sketch the main features of *bhakti* as found in the *Bhāgavata* (of which the *Muktāphalam* is a topical rearrangement of a number of its verses) with occasional glances at the connected issues in order to place before the reader the standpoints from which certain aspects of *bhakti* may be viewed and their significance realized. I have tried to draw the outlines of the entire psycho-historical side of *bhakti* in order that any portion of it forming the subject-matter of any particular chapter of the *Bhāgavata* or the *Muktāphalam* might be seen in its relation to the whole, together with its location as a link in the chain of *sādhana*. To the Hindus, religion is not merely a body of tenets to be believed as true, but a course of *sādhana* i. e. means by which the devotee can, if he tries whole-heartedly, realize the Ultimate Reality by intense and constant endeavours, and by conduct regulated by this high ideal. In the path of *bhakti*, the emotions are primarily utilised for creating in the devotee a ceaseless currents of inclinations towards the Deity by the imposition between them of a nexus of relationship, in and through which the *sādhaka* likes most to be tied to Him. It may be called the *yoga* of emotions alongside of the *yoga* of intellect and the *yoga* of actions (implying will), the names indicating the particular mental functions upon which stress is laid in the three paths. It is the touch of the emotions that inspires and strengthens the devotee and makes pleasurable the journey that would otherwise have been very arduous. It is perfectly recognized that it is not possible for the finite mind of man with its heavy limitations to grasp the Infinite unless it be in the likenesses of the sea, the sky, and so forth, which are really far from being the Infinite connoted by the term, and serve as but symbols, while it is believed that it is not impossible for the Source of all forms visible in this universe to assume for Himself a form and appear before the devotee, nor is it possible for the Receptacle of the tenderest feelings to continue irresponsive to the hearty and incessant calls of his *sādhaka* trying his utmost to be deserving of His response or mercy. His presence is all-pervasive, but at times He incarnates for meting out mercy to the afflicted and erring world. His incarnation as Kṛṣṇa had as one of its principal objects the showing of new ways of approach to men, and it was these ways that have formed the subject-matter of a large portion of this discourse. In these ways of realization, the unbearble majesty of his infinitude limits itself into the finite to bring Himself within the easy reach of human beings. To conceive Him in His limitless qualities, His 'universal appearance' visible in and through the minutest form of existence to the highest, yet not confined to these limits, and through the numberless manifestations of life, intelligence, and beauty in this universe, staggers even the boldest imagination. It was one of the objects of his incarnation Kṛṣṇa to obscure, as it were, his blinding effulgence, to be realizable by the finite intellect, to be graspable by the finite emotions, to love and to be loved by the finite hearts of man. I have, in the foregoing pages, looked at the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa and the feelings through which he puts Himself within man's reach in their psycho-historical detachment from each other with glances at the gradual growth of the cult, but to the devotee they appear as one co-existent or sequential body of realities occurring within the time of Kṛṣṇa continued incarnate, and perfectly right he is so far as his *sādhana* is concerned. It is this point of view that rather strengthens his belief and helps his *sādhana*. Standing on his foundation of belief, he works on the particular line of devotion prescribed for himself and expected to achieve for him the results that attended the efforts of the great devotees, in whose footsteps he is following. The experiences of the real *sādhakas* can be tested only by those who proceed along the same lines, and the opinions of others, however great in other fields of experience, are of as little value as that of an ignoramus upon the reactions of a chemical experiment. The path of *bhakti* is smoother than any other on account of the little demand made by it on any technical knowledge, or arduous acts on the part of the devotee. The only demand that it makes is upon the direction of his emotions towards the Deity, to hold Him always in mind by conscious or subconscious working of his memory, and be thus inspired in all his actions by the ideals that a devotee ought to follow ; in short, to set himself adrift along the current of his feeling which by its depth and intensity carries him towards his goal. This is what makes the *sādhana* of *bhakti* so popular; and adaptible as it is to the varying inclinations of the *sādhaka*, it has succeeded in having a very large number of adherents. It is, moreover, liberal in its treatment of man, however low in castal status, a feature that is woefully lacking in practice in many of the Hindu sects. All these factors account for the large number of followers of the doctrine of *bhakti*, the foundation of modern Vishnuite Hinduism professed by at least 150 millions of the inhabitants of India[1]. The function of the *purāṇas* is to popularize the traditional Hindu culture and imbue the minds of the people with the spiritual and religious truths garnered by the early Hindu philosophers and *sādhakas*, and incorporated in the works in a popular form. Eager circles of listeners squatting round an interpreter reading out and explaining the *ślokas* of the *Bhāgavata* were a common sight in the past. The practice is not so much in vogue now-a-days owing mainly perhaps to the different spirit of the times, though its potency as a distributor of culture cannot be questioned. If the *Bhāgavata* embodies in itself the essence of the philosophical and religious truths that have been reached by the Hindus by virtue of their centuries of search and *sādhana* as regulated and stimulated by the peculiar *varnāśrama* organization of the Hindu society, and if the Hindus, as represented by their highest masters in the fields of spiritual and religious culture, have by virtue of arduous efforts for centuries, made more conquests in the field of spiritual knowledge and *sādhana* than any other people, the value of the *Bhāgavata* as an easy version of the said truths, and as the manual of *bhakti-sādhana* cannot be gainsaid. There are extant on the earth various religions and religious cults, attempting for their followers to tear up to a certain extent the veil that puts out of their sight the Worker of the universe and His ways. To understand all His ways, infinite as they are, is not the aim of *bhakti* or perhaps of any other Hindu cult. In his *ānanda* aspect i. e., in his aspect of love, bliss, and beauty, he allows himself to be realized by man, which does not mean an intellectual mastery by the latter of all He does and the manner of doing it. To be clearer, a son need not master all the learning of his erudite father, nor a friend to acquire the scholarship of his learned friend, for the completion of the tie that subsists between them, because it is complete without it. To enable man to be conscious of such a tie, to make it effectively binding,

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[1] *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II, p. 539.

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to convert it into an actuality instead of allowing it to be but imaginary is the aim of *bhakti*, and on it depend the value and importance of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Muktāphalam*.

System of Education in the Upanisads

The antiquity of the *āśramas* and the purpose they subserve.

Formerly the life of the twice-born was divided into four *āśramas* (stages of life) the first of which was meant for study. The education received during the period was not meant merely to store their minds with literary information but to make them capable of grappling with the hardships of the remaining portions of their lives. The four divisions of life are found mentioned in the Upaniṣads, which shows that they were in vogue in ancient times[1]. The first *āśrama* is referred to in so early texts as the *Ṛg*[2] and *Atharva Vedas*[3] and the *Aitareya*[4], *Taittirīya*[5], and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*[6].

Usually a brāhmaṇa boy had to enter into the first stage of life by performing the *upa-*

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[1] *Chānd. Up.*, ii, 23, 1 ; 8, 15 ; v, 10, 1-2 ; 8, 15 ; *Bṛ. Up.*, iv, 4, 22 ; *Śvetā. Up.*, vi, 21.

[2] x, 119, 5.

[3] vi, 108, 2 ; 133, 3 ; vii, 109, 7 ; xi, 5, 1.

[4] v, 14 ; xxii, 9.

[5] iii, 7, 6, 3.

[6] xi, 3, 3, 1 & 7. Cf. *AV.*, xi, 5, 3.

nayana ceremony at any time between the ages of eight and sixteen[1]. The nature of the connection that existed between the ceremony and education in ancient times cannot be realized from the *upanayana* ceremony of the present day. We find in the Upaniṣads that the imparting of education on each of the subjects of study had to be preceded by the ceremony[2], from which it seems that it was not an elaborate ceremony, or at least the second and the subsequent repetitions of the ceremony were not elaborate. In the Dharma-śāstras, separate *upanayanas* had to be prescribed for the study of each of the Vedas[3]. According to the *Vaitāna-Sūtrā*[4], the knowledge of the *Gāyatrī-mantra* the essence of the three Vedas enabled a student to study the *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, and *Sāma Vedas* but a separate initiation ceremony was necessary for studying the *Atharva Veda*.

The *upanayana* ceremony and education.

In view of the aforesaid evidences the antiquity of the ceremony is above doubt ; hence, Prof. Deussen's remark that at the time of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the study of the Vedas did not yet become a duty of the brāhmaṇas is not sound[1]. His inference is based on a passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* in which Āruṇi says that none in his family have become the object of slander for going without education[2]. This can only support the inference that there were in those days families, some members of which were without education, but it cannot be an adequate ground for the opinion that the duty of study of the Vedas was not then a duty of all the brāhmaṇas, from which, of course, deviations were possible. On the other hand the passage makes it clear that a brāhmaṇa incurred odium as in later times[3] by going without education.

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[1] *Āśv. Gṛ. Su.*, i, 2, 1-8.

[2] *Chānd. Up.*, v, ii, 7 ; *Kauṣī. Up.*, iv, 18.

[3] *Āp. Dh. S.*, i, 1, 1, 8-9.

[4] i, 1, 5.

The selection of a *guru*.

The son of a teacher was sometimes given *upanayana* by his father and imparted education by him[4], but in most cases the boy was sent to a *guru* elsewhere in order that he might be subjected to a more rigid discipline than at home[5]. Śvetaketu, though the son of the renowned scholar Āruṇi, had to leave home for the house of his *guru* with that object in view; and after undergoing there the hardships of a

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[1] *Phil. of the Upaniṣads*, p. 369.

[2] *Chānd. Up.*, vi, 1, 1.

[3] *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, ii, 2, 6.

[4] *Bṛ. Up.*, v, 1,1

[5] *Chānd. Up.*, vi, 1, 1; 8, 15; *Bṛ. Up.*, vi, 3, 6.

brahmacārī for the prescribed period, returned to his father to be taught more abstruse subjects[1]. The students after finishing their usual courses of study could place themselves under more than one *guru* in different places[2] in order to have special knowledge of subjects from those who had specialised in them. There was at Patañcala in the Madra country a scholar named Kāpya who was a specialist in sacrifices. His fame as such used to attract to him many students[3]. Similarly six brāhmaṇas went to learn *Vaiśvānara-vidyā* from Aśvapati who was proficient in the subject[4]. Though study under a teacher belonging to the same *śākhā* with the student was preferred, yet deviations from this practice were allowed in regard to distinguished *gurus.* A marked deviation from the usual practice is found in the case of Yājñavalkya who though a follower of the *Yajur-veda* used to teach both the *Yajur* and the *Sāma-vedas*[5].

The teachers were not always vānaprasthins or sannyāsins dwelling in forests. That many of them were householders living with their families in villages or towns is evident from the Upaniṣads[1]. Videha, Kāśī, Pañcāla, Madra, etc. were famous as centres of learning. We find it mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] that there were many teachers in Kuru-Pañcāla and pupils flocked to Madradeśa[3] and 'Northern India'[4] for the acquisition of knowledge.

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[1] *Chānd. Up.*, vi, 1

[2] *Ibid.*, vii, 1, 1.

[3] *Bṛ. Up.*, iii, 3, 1; 7, 1.

[4] *Chānd. Up.*, v, 11.

[5] *Bṛ. Up.*, iii, 1, 2.

Teachers, not always forest-dwellers.

During his stay with the *Guru*, the student had to collect alms[5], maintain the sacred fire[6], rear cattle[7] and perform such other work.

The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[8], and the *Chāndogya*[9] and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*[10] mention various subjects of study, the mastery of which required a long period. The *Chāndogya*[11] puts twelve years as the usual limit which could, however, be extended to thirty-two years or

Period of studentship.

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[1] *Chānd. Up.*, iv, 1, 2 ; *Bṛ. Up.*, iii, 3, 1 ; iii, 7, 1.

[2] *Bṛ. Up.*, iii, 1, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 3, 1 ; iii, 7, 1.

[4] *Kauṣ. Br.*, vii, 6.

[5] *Chānd. Up.*, iv, 3, 5 ; *Śat. Br.*, xi, 3, 3, 1.

[6] *Chānd. Up.*, iv, 10, 1 ; *Śat. Br.*, xi, 3, 3, 1.

[7] *Chānd. Up.*, iv, 4, 5.

[8] *Gopatha Br.*, i, 2, 9.

[9] *Chānd. Up.*, vii, 1.

[10] *Bṛ. Up.*, ii, 4, 10.

[11] *Chānd. Up.*, vi, 1, 2 ; viii, 7, 3 ; Cf. *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.*, i, 22, 3.

upwards. The *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*[1] sets down twelve years for the mastery of each Veda, making the total forty-eight years. The student may also, according to it, study longer if he so desires. Though the study for twelve years was the usual practice, yet if a student could finish his studies within a shorter period, he could become a householder with the permission of the *Guru*[2].

Though learning by rote was not commendable,[3] yet there were students who could well perform the rites and ceremonies but did not know the meanings of Vedic passages[4]. The *snātakas* i. e. those who returned home after their periods of stay at the houses of their *gurus* were of three classes[5], viz., *vidyāsnātakas*, *vratasnātakas*, and *vidyā-vrata-snātakas*. Those students who completed their studies but did not perform fully the necessary *vratas* formed the first group ; those who did not complete their studies but observed the full complement of religious rites composed the second group ; while those who completed both the studies and the rites made up the third group and were held in the highest estimation[6].

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[1] *Pāraskara Gṛ. Sū*, ii, 5. [2] *Āśv. Gṛ. Sū.*, i, 22, 4.

[3] *Saṃhitopaniṣad Br.*, 3.

[4] *Pāraskara Gṛ. Sū.*, ii, 6, 7 ; *Mahābhāṣya*, iv, 2, 59

[5] *Pāraskara Gṛ. Sū.*, ii, 5, 32.

[6] *Gobh. Gṛ. Sū.*, iii, 5, 23.

Some of the *vratas*[1] which had to be observed by the students during their stay with the *Gurus* are the *Godānika vrata*, the *Āditya vrata*, the *Vrātika vrata*, the *Aupaniṣada vrata*, the *Jyaiṣṭhasāmika vrata*, the *Śukriya vrata*, and the *Śākvara vrata*. The conclusion of the period of *brahmacarya* was celebrated by the performance of the Mahānāmnī, Mahāvrata, etc. preceding the *samāvartana* (return-home).

Study of the *Āraṇyakas.*

The *vrata-snātakas* could not leave their Guru's residence at the conclusion of the period of their stay there without being instructed in the mystic lore (*Āraṇyakas*), as no student could finish his studies without taking some lessons in Āraṇyaka-vidyā[2]. This (Āraṇyaka) portion of the Vedas had to be studied at prescribed hours in forests[3]; but as it was not convenient for all the students to stay in forests for the study for a long time, the students dwelling at their guru's houses in villages went for the purpose to sequestered places outside the village during day-time[4].

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[1] *Gobh. Gr. sū* iii, 1, 28; *Śāṅkh. Gṛ. Sū.*, ii, 11, 11-13.

[2] *Ait. Ār.*, v, 3, 3, 12—*Nedam adhīyan snātako bhavati yady apy anyad bahv adhīyan naivedam adhīyan snātako bhavati.*

[3] *Śāṅkh. Gṛ. Sū.*, ii, 12, 12.

[4] *Gobh. Gṛ. Sū.*, iii, 2, 38; *Śāṅkh. Gr. Sū.*, ii, 12, 11.

From this it seems that the mystical portion of the Vedas (i. e. the *Āraṇyakas*) could be studied at places on the outskrits of villages (*acchadirdarśa*, lit., whence the roofs of houses could not be seen), as in the case of the performance of the *brahmayajña* i. e. the daily recitation of the vedic mantras[1]. The reason for resorting to a secluded place is probably for easily securing the concentration of mind needed for studying the said portion of the Vedas. As in the house of the *guru*, there might be distractions on account of the presence of other students and the members of the *guru's* family, the *guru* used to accompany the student to the outskirts of the village to impart lessons.

According to some scholars, the *Āraṇyakas* were so named for the reason that they were studied in forests by the Vānaprasthins. The existence of the rule, however, that the knowledge of the portion of the Āraṇyakavidyā should not be imparted to the children and the aged[2] points to a different conclusion. As a matter fact we find the recommendation[3] that it should be studied by the Brahmacārins, though, of course, the application of the knowledge acquired in this 'stage' took place in the third stage of life. A passage in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[1] meant to be recited by students is significant in this connection. Through it the student expresses the desire that he might have intellect, fame, and a large number of pupils. This passage would not appear proper in the mouth of a Vānaprasthin who has already proceeded far in the renunciation of the world. This shows that the *Āraṇyakas* were studied in the first stage of life while the people in the third stage had to make a practical application of the knowledge derived in the first. From these data, the derivation of the name *Āraṇyaka* appears to have been based on the fact that it was studied by the Brahmacārins originally in forests.

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[1] *Taitt. Ār.*, ii, 11, 1.

[2] *Ait. Ār.*, v, 3, 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, v, 3, 3, 12.

Thus after passing through a rigid discipline at the residence of the *guru*, the students returned home. Before their departure the *guru* used to give them advice[2] regarding the conduct of life as householders. The means of livelihood of a learned brāhmaṇa lay in the pecuniary help[3] that the sovereign of the land or other patrons of learning used to extend to him as teacher, or in the srcrificial fee[4] that he used to

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[1] *Taitt. Ār.*, vii, 4. [2] *Taitt. Up.*, i, ii.

[3] *Chānd. Up.*, v, 11, 5 ; *Br. Up.*, ii, 1, 1 ; iii, 1, 1.

[4] *Chānd. Up.*, 1, 10, 6 ; *Ait. Br.*, 22, 9.

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[1] *Taitt. Ār.*, ii, 11, 1.
[2] *Ait. Ār.*, v, 3, 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, v, 3, 3, 12.

Thus after passing through a rigid discipline at the residence of the *guru*, the students returned home. Before their departure the *guru* used to give them advice[2] regarding the conduct of life as householders. The means of livelihood of a learned brāhmaṇa lay in the pecuniary help[3] that the sovereign of the land or other patrons of learning used to extend to him as teacher, or in the srcrificial fee[4] that he used to get for his officiation at rites and ceremonies. The brahmacārin had to live on alms during the whole period of studentship but as soon as he became a householder, he was prohibited from collecting alms[1]. He was advised by the *guru* at the time of completion of studentship that thenceforth he should not be uumindful of what came to be his duty then of attaining prosperity[2]. The student was further asked to teach to others what he had learnt[3]. It is found in connection with the teaching of a doctrine that it was imparted only to those who promised to teach it in their turn[4].

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[1] *Taitt. Ār.*, vii, 4.

[2] *Taitt. Up.*, i, ii.

[3] *Chānd. Up.*, v, 11, 5 ; *Br. Up.*, ii, 1, 1 ; iii, 1, 1.

[4] *Chānd. Up.*, 1, 10, 6 ; *Ait. Br.*, 22, 9.

To give a finishing touch to their education or to have recognition as learned men, the students after *samāvartana* used to visit the courts of those kings who were patrons of learning and before whom were held discussions on various subjects offering opportunities to the students fresh from their *guru's* residence to give evidences of their mastery of various subjects. Gārgya Bālāki, for instance, visited the royal courts at Kāśī[5], while Āruṇeya Śvetaketu at Kuru-pañcāla[6].

[1] *Śat, Br.*, xi, 3, 3, 7.
[2] *Taitt. Up.*, i, 11, 1.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ait. Ār.* iii, 2, 6.
[5] *Bṛ. Up.* ii, 1, 1.
[6] *Chānd. Up.*, v, 3.

APPENDIX

LIST I *

[Note.—Some of the important Catalogues of manuscripts have been consulted first-hand instead of through Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* in view of the definitive and descriptive details that such consultation can furnish. There are chapters in the *Purāṇas* and other Sanskrit works like the *Vishṇudharmottara* devoted to various topics of *Vārttā*. As these chapters do not require any special mention, they have been omitted in the lists.

There are a good many MSS. on minerals and their chemical actions mentioned in Dr. P. C. Roy's *History* of *Hindu Chemistry* and Dr. B. N. Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. Only those portions, if any, of the MSS. that treat of the processes by which they can be reduced into raw materials for the production of articles of commerical value can come within the scope of *Vārttā*.

It is not possible to discuss the dates of the various works mentioned here. Apart from the difficulty of the task itself, a good many of the works are out of reach and perhaps not available for copying or consultation. It cannot be denied that some of them are recent compositions but even these may be the lineal descendants of older ones in which latter, however, the treatment of their respective subjects might be seen in greater freedom from influences which, multiplied by the lapse of time, tend to put it away from its ancient orthodox line].

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* See p. 87

Available Manuscripts on Vārttā or its Sub-Topics

(1) *Mayaśilpa* or Artisan's Manual by Maya.—*Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace of Tanjore prepared for the Madras Government* by A.C. Burnell (1880), p. 62.

(2) *Rājagṛhanirmāṇa.*—"On architecture." *Ibid.*, p. 62.

(3) *Ratnaparīkṣā*—"On gems and their qualities, etc. Some described are imaginary." *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(4) *Vāsturatnāvalī*, compiled by Jeva Nath Jotishi.—"A treatise on house-building and the religious observances connected with it." *Ibid.*, p. 154.

(5) *Vāstusaukhya*, deposited with Paṇḍit Śyāmācaraṇa, Benares.—"An extract of Toḍarānanda, very rare, complete, and incorrect."
Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in N. W. P. compiled by order of Government, *Part IX*, (1885) by Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivedī, Librarian, Benares Sanskrit College, p. 56.

(6) *Vāsturāja-vallabha* by Maṇḍanasūtradhāra.—"A treatise on Vāstu, recent, complete and incorrect." *Ibid.*, p. 56.

(7) *Vāstu-vicāra* by Viśvakarman, deposited with Gaurīnātha Śāstrī, Benares.—"A treatise on Vāstu ; very old, complete and correct." *Ibid.*, p. 56.

(8) *Vāstu-pradīpa* by Vāsudeva, deposited with Umāśaṅkara Miśra, Azamgarh.—"Rare, recent, complete and correct." *Ibid*, Pt. X, p. 56, No. 1.

(9) *Vāstu-prakāśa*, deposited with Bālābhāu Sapre, Benares.—Remark same. *Ibid.*, p. 56, No. 2.

(10) *Aparājitavāstu-śāstra* by Viśvakarman, in the possession of Maṇiśaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, Surat.—*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. contained in the private libraries of Gujarat, Kāthiavad, Kacch, Sindh and Khandesh,*

No. 3 (compiled under the superintendence of G. Bühler by order of Government, printed at the Indu Prakāśa Press, Bombay, 1872), p. 276, No. 1.

(11) *Jñānaratnakośa* by Visvakarman, in the possession of Acharatalal Vaidya, Ahmedabad.—*Ibid.*, p. 276, No. 3.

(12) *Prāsādānukīrtana.* Author not mentioned. In the possession of Gopal Rao, Mālegāṃva—On Śilpa. *Ibid.*, p. 276, No. 4.

(13) *Rājavallabha-ṭīkā,* deposited with Nirbhayarām Mūlī —*Ibid.*, p. 276, No. 6.

(14) *Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjikā.*—"A catalogue of rituals by Kuladatta. It contains among other things instructions for the selection of a site for the construction of a Vihāra and also rules for building a dwelling-house."

The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal by R. L. Mitra, 1882, p. 105, No. 23.

(15) *Ratnaparīkṣā.*—"On the merits and defects of precious stones and jewels of Buddha Bhaṭṭācārya. The articles noticed are diamond, pearl, emerald, carbuncle, ruby, sapphire, lapis lazuli, bhīṣma (?), crystal and coral. The work is in Sanskrit verse and its meaning is explained in Newārī prose. As usual in Sanskrit work of this class, great importance is attached to good and ill luck the jewels are calculated to bring on under particular astrological and other circumstances." *Ibid.*, p. 291, No. B. 50.

(16) *Rājavallabha-Maṇḍana* by Maṇḍana Sūtradhāra (age 1578 Saṃvat, complete).—"On architecture. In the colophon it is stated that Maṇḍana, a Sūtradhāra or architect who was in the service of Kumbhakarṇa, king of Medapāṭa, composed the work

and by his devotion to Gaṇapati and to his teacher and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning he expounded the art of building as taught by the Munis (EE., Appendix II). Medapāṭa is Mevāḍ and a king of the name of Kumbha ruled over the country according to Tod from A. D. 1419 to 1469. He had a taste for the arts and constructed many temples as well as strongholds. It is not unlikely therefore that he had in his service persons who read the literature of architecture and who could compose such treatises as the one under notice."

Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83 by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 86, No. 404.

(17) *Pādapavivakṣā.* Author not mentioned. Place of deposit (henceforth written P. D.) Narasiṃhācāryya of Kumbhaghoṇam.—"Subject—*Dohada*" (nourishment of plants). *List of Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries of S. India* by Gustav Oppert, Vol. II, p. 371, No. 6333.

(18) *Vṛkṣadohada.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇarāyar of Tiruvallikeni —*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3271.

(19) *Vṛkṣāyurveda.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇarāyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3272.

(20) *Śasyānanda.* Author not mentioned. P. D. same as above.—"Subject—Kṛṣiśāstra." *Ibid.*, Vol. II p. 223, No. 3289.

(21) *Ratnalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahā, rājā of Travancore.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 478, No. 6161.

(22) *Ratnādiparīkṣā.* P. D. Picchudīkṣitar of Akhilāndapuram.—"Subject—Ratnaśāstra." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 320, No. 5253.

(23) *Aṅkanaśāstra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Vīrasvāmī Aiyangar of Śivagaṅgā.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228, No. 2499.

(24) *Kāśyapīya* by Kāśyapa. P. D. Śaṅkarācāryamaṭhani of Kumbhaghoṇam.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 395, No. 6836.

(25) *Kūpādijalasthānalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol, I, p. 467, No. 5941.

(26) *Kṣetranirmāṇavidhi.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Rājā of Cochin at Tiruppunittura.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 254, No. 2811.

(27) *Gṛhapīṭhikā.* Author not mentioned. P. D. S. Kodaṇḍa Rāmāvadhānapantulu of Vijayanagaram. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 545, No. 7544.

(28) *Gopuravimānādilakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Arcakayogānandabhaṭṭa of Melakoṭa.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259, No. 4009.

(29) *Cakraśāstra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Karempuḍy (Palnād Taluk).—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2793.

(30) *Citrapaṭa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Athakopāchāyyar of Vānamābalai in Naṅguneri, Tinnevelly District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 440, No. 5426.

(31) *Jalārgala.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Subrahmaṇya Dīkshitar of Chidambaram. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 461.

(32) *Jalārgala* by Varāhamihira. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇāyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3146.

(33) *Jalārgalayantra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3147.

(34) *Devālayalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—"Subject—Śipa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 470, No. 5998.

(35) *Dvāralakṣaṇapaṭala.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 470, No. 6003.

(36) *Pakṣimanuṣyālayalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above. "Subject—Śilpa." The construction of aviaries dealt with in this MS. is likely to be interesting. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 471, No. 6030.

(37) *Prāsādakalpa.* Author not mentioned. P. D Maṇḍaḍi Koṇḍoyya Pantulu, Vijayanagaram, Vizagapatam District.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 522, No. 7064.

(38) *Prāsādalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Māhārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6056.

(39) *Prāsādalakṣaṇa* by Varāhamihira. P. D. Rājā Vellariki Veṅkaṭarāmasūryaprakāśa Row of Ulukuru (Vissampeta Division). "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 208, No. 2959.

(40) *Prāsādālaṅkāralakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 473, No. 6057.

(41) *Valipīṭhalakṣaṇa.* P. D. same as above.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6059.

(42) *Manuṣyālayalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 475, No. 6109.

(43) *Marīcipaṭala.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Aṇṇasvāmī of Śrīvīlliputtur, Tinnevelly District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 448, No. 5610.

(44) *Mānakathana.* Author not mentioned.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 473, No. 8070.

(45) *Mānavavāstulakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 476, No. 6125.

(46) *Mānavasāra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Śāmaṇṇāchari of Srimashnam, Chidambaram Taluk. According to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, it is same as Mānasāra. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 31, No. 532.

(47) *Mānasa* (perhaps Mānasāra). P. D. Puligadda Aruṇācala Śāstrī of Koṭṭapeṭa (Vijayanagaram), Vizagapatam District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 518, No. 6976.

(48) *Rathalakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Arcakayogānanda Bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 264, No. 4124.

(49) *Vāstu-cakra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Rājā of Vijayanagaram, Vizagapatam District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 538, No. 7397.

(50) *Vāstu-lakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6198.

(51) *Vāstu-śāstra* by Sanatkumāra. P. D. Paravastu Veṅkaṭaraṅgācāryar of Viśākhāpaṭṭana, Vizagapatam District.—"Subject—Śilpa.". *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 580, No. 8239.

(52) *Vimāna-lakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Arcakayogānanda Bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 266, No. 4150.

(53) *Viśvakarmīya* by Viśvakarman. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6207.

(54) *Śilpa-śāstra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Arcakayogānanda Bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 267, No. 4187.

(55) *Śilpārthasāra.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Anobilajīyar of Kāñcīpuram (Conjeeveram), Chingleput District.--"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 248.

(56) *Saḍvidik-sandhāna.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Karempuḍi (Palnād Taluk). "Subject—Śilpa". *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2802.

(57) *Pīṭha-lakṣaṇa.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 472, No. 6037.

(58) *Pratimādravyādi-vacana.* Author not mentioned. P. D. Aṇṇasvāmī of Srīraṅgam, Trichinopoly District. "Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 490, No. 6384.

(59) *Mūla-stambha-nirṇaya.*—'On architecture" (acc. to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 464). *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 202, No. 2486.

(60) *Kautuka-lakṣaṇa*—"On Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 258, No. 3998.

(61) *Catvāriṃśad-vidyā* (*i. e.*, forty branches of learning) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 230, No. 3407. The subject being '*mantra*' as mentioned by Oppert, we do not expect from it more than an enumeration of the branches of learning.

(62) *Aṃśumānakalpa*—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62b. *Aufrecht* (henceforth abbreviated into *Auf.*), Pt. I, p. 1.

(63) *Āgāravinoda* by Durgāśaṅkara.—"On architecture." N.W. 554. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 2.

(64) *Jayamādhavamānasollāsa* by Jayasiṃhadeva.—"On architecture." Bik. 708 ; Bhk. 21 ; Poona, 202. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 201.

(65) *Tārālakṣaṇa.*—"On sculpture." Burnell, 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 229.

(66) *Maṇi-parīkṣā or Ratnaparīkṣā*, attributed to

Agastya.—"Testing of precious stones." L. 131. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 420.

(67) *Mānasāra.* It has been translated in the 'Indian Architecture.'—"On architecture." Burnell, 62a, Taylor 1, 71. Oppert II, 532. Quoted by Rāmrāj. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 452.

(68) *Āyādilakṣaṇa.*—"On Śilpa." Burnell 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 52.

(69) *Ārāmādipratiṣṭhāpaddhati* by Gaṅgārām Mahādakara.—"On gardens." Hall, p. 94. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 53.

(70) *Kaideva.*—"On Botany."—This work may have some bearing on agriculture. Quoted three times in the *Nirṇaya-sindhu*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 128.

(71) *Gṛhanirūpaṇasaṃkṣepa.*—"On architecture." Kāśīn. 6, *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 157.

(72) *Citrakarmaśilpaśāstra* or *Brāhmīyaśilpa.*—"On architecture." Burnell, 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.

(73) *Citrasūtra.*—"On painting, mentioned in *Kuṭṭanimata* 23." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.

(74) *Jñāna-ratnakoṣa.* "On Śilpa." B. 4. 276. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 210.

(75) *Nava-ratna-parīkṣā* by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍit.—"On gems". Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 281.

(76) *Prāsāda-dīpikā.*—"On architecture." Quoted in the *Madana-Pārijāta*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 364.

(77) *Mayūra-citraka* or *Meghamālā* or *Ratnamālā.*—"Indication of coming rain, famine or plenty, etc., from the appearance of the atmosphere. Attributed to Nārada." L. 2668, Report xxxvi, Pheh. 8. Quoted in *Śāntisāra*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 432.

(78) *Mūrtti-lakṣaṇa.*—"On the forms of idols." Rice 96. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(79) *Ditto.*—From the *Garuḍasaṃhitā*. Burnell, 207b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(80) *Mūrtti-dhyāna.*—"On sculpture." Burnell, 62b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(81) *Ratna samuccaya.*—"On precious stones." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.

(82) *Lakṣaṇa-samuccaya.*—"On the features in images of deities." Bik. 411 (attributed to Hemādri). Kāṭm. 12. Quoted by Hemādri in *Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 823, by Kamalākara, Oxf. 279a, in *Muhūrta-dīpaka*, Oxf. 336a, by Khaṇḍerāya in *Paraśurāma-prakāśa.* W. p. 312." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 535.

(83) *Loha-ratnākara.*—"A work on metals," Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.

(84) *Lohārṇava.*—"A work on metals". Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.

(85) *Loha-śāstra.*—Quoted by Śivarāma on Vāsavadattā, p. 198. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.

(86) *Vāstu-nirmāṇa.*—"On architecture." Pheh. 9, *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(87) *Vāstu-prakāśa* by Viśvakarman.—"On architecture". Oudh, xii, 30, NP. x. 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(88) *Vāstu-vicāra.*—"On architecture." B. 4, 276, NP. ix, 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(89) *Vāstu-vidhi* by Viśvakarman.—"On architecture". Mack. 133. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(90) *Vāstu-śiromaṇi.*—"On architecture." Pheh. 9. *Auf.*, Pt I, p. 568.

(91) *Ditto.* by Mahārāja Śyāmasāh Śaṅkara.—NP. V, 92. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(92) *Vāstusaṃgraha* by Viśvakarman.—"On architecture". Mack. 133. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(93) *Vāstu-samucchaya* by Viśvakarman.—"On architecture." Kāśīn. 6. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(94) *Vāstu-sāra*, by Sūtradhāra-maṇḍana.—"On architecture." NP. V., 92. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 569.

(95) *Vimāna-vidyā*.—"On architecture." Burnell, 62b. *Auf*. Pt. I, p. 578.

(96) *Vaikhānasa*.—"On architecture". Quoted by Rāmrāj. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 610.

(97) *Śastra-jaladhi-ratna* by Hariprasāda.—"On Śilpa." Bik. 708. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 644.

(98) *Śilpa-kalā-dīpikā*.—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62b. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 647.

(99) *Śilpa-lekha*.—"On Śilpa." A work quoted according to Rāya-mukuṭa by Sarvadhara. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 647.

(100) *Śilpa-sarvasva-saṃgraha*.—"On Śilpa." Burnell 62b. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 647.

(101) *Sakalādhikāra*.—"On architecture, attributed to Agastya." Taylor I, 72, quoted by Rāmrāj. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 683.

(102) *Sarva-vihārīya-yantra* by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita.—"On architecture." Rice 46. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 702.

(103) *Sārasvatīya-śilpa-śāstra*.—"On architecture." Burnell, 62b. Quoted by Rāmrāj. *Auf*., Pt. I, p. 714.

(104) *Aparājita-pṛcchā*, by Bhuvanadeva.—"On architecture." IO. 1603 (two first chapters). The work is quoted by Hemādri in *Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa*, 2, 660-62, 819. *Auf*., Pt. II, p. 4.

(105) *Ratna-dīpikā* by Caṇḍeśvara.—"On Śilpa". Rgb. 1022. *Auf*., Pt. II, pp. 36, 114.

(106) *Kṣīrārṇava* by Viśvakarman.—"On Śilpa". Peters. 4, 32. *Auf*., Pt. II, pp. 26, 138.

(107) *Viśvakarma-mata*.—"On Śilpa". Quoted by Hemādri in *Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa* 2, 817, 825, 827, 828. *Auf*., Pt. II, p. 138.

(108) *Viśva-vidyābharaṇa*.—"On the duties of artisans by Basavācārya." IO., 2680 (inc). *Auf*., Pt. II, p. 139.

(109) *Pratiṣṭhā-tattva* or *Maya-saṃgraha.*—"On architecture." Rep. p. 11. *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.

(110) *Pratiṣṭhā-tantra.*—"On architecture in a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī." Rep. p. 6 (copied in 1147). *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.

(111) *Kṛṣi-viṣaya*, by an unknown author. [The first few ślokas quoted in the catalogue are identical with those of Parāśara's *Kṛṣi-saṃgraha* printed at Calcutta (1322 B. S.), but the last śloka quoted in the same does not coincide with that of the latter.]—"A guide to agriculture." R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta 1871), Vol. I, p. 179, MS. No. cccxvii.

(112) *Ratnamālā* by Paśupati.—"A treatise on precious stones." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. MS. No. ccclxiv.

(113) *Viśvakarmīya-śilpam.*—"A treatise on the manual arts attributed to Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

Contents :—1. Origin of Viśvakarman, derivation of the word *takṣaka* (carpenter), *vardhaki* (sculptor), &c. 2. Height of man in different ages of the world ; wood and stone for the formation of images. 3. Sacraments for sculptors and carpenters. 4. Halls for the consecration of Śiva and other gods. 5. Proportions of the images of planets and *liṅgams*. 6. Formations of cars. 7. Consecration of cars. 8. Forms of Brāhmī, Māheśvarī and other goddesses. 9. Sacrificial or Brāhmanical thread. 10. Sacrificial threads of gold, silver, and *muñja* fibre ; the different sites where images of gods and goddesses are to be placed ; qualities of a kind of stone called 'Hemaśilā' or golden stone to be found to the south of the Meru mountain. 11. Images of Indra, Māheśvarī and other gods and goddesses. 12-13. Crowns, crests and other head-ornaments.

14. Movable and fixed thrones for images ; crests and other ornaments for the head ; repairs of temples. 15. Proportions of doors of temples for *liṅgams.* 16. Proportion of doors for other temples. 17. Temples for Vighneśa. Most of these chapters appear imperfect and fragmentary, and the work is obviously incomplete". *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 142, MS. No. 731.

(114) *Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-prakāśa.* P. D. Paṇḍit Vāmana Ācārya, Benares.—In Weber's *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 179. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

(115) *Śilpa-śāstra.*—Palm leaves, Karnāṭa character. "On construction of temples and images." *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* by H. H. Wilson, p. 170, No. 4.

(116) *Śilpa-śāstra.*—Palm leaves, Grantha character, imperfect. "On architecture regarding construction of ornamented gateways." *Ibid.*, p. 170, No. 5.

(117) *Śilpa-śāstra.*—Paper, Telugu character. "Direction for making images." *Ibid.*, p. 170, No. 6.

(118) *Śilpa-śāstra* by Peḍḍanācārya.—Telugu book. On the making of images and ornamental work in gold and silver. *Ibid.*, p. 304, No. 5.

(119) *Pañcarātra-dīpikā* by Peḍḍanācarya.—"A work on the manufacture of images, their dimensions and embellishment". *Ibid.*, p. 170, No. 8.

(120) *Vāstu-saṃgraha.*—Palm leaves, Telugu character. "On architecture, erection of buildings, temples and fabrication of images". *Ibid.*, p. 171, No. 12.

(121) *Gṛhanirmāṇa-vidhi.* Author not mentioned.—Palm leaves. "On rules for the erection of houses, temples and other edifices". *Ibid.*, p. 304, No. 6.

(122) *Ratta-mattam.*—"Astrological predictions of the weather, rain, drought and similar topics applicable to agriculture and the plenty or scarcity

of grain. Translated from the Kanada of Retta, by Bhāskara, son of Nagaya and dedicated to Veṅkaṭapati Palligar of Eravar." Telugu book. Palm leaves. *Ibid.*, p. 303, No. 1.

(123) *Vāstu-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa.*—"On architecture." Canarese letter, incomplete. *A Catalogue Raisonée of Oriental MSS. in the Library of the late College of Fort St. George* by the Rev. William Taylor, Vol. I, Madras, 1857. p. 313, No. 1562.

(124) *Aṃśumat-kāśyapīya.*—"On Śilpa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 314.

(125) *Śilpa-śāstra* by Kāśyapa.—"On the structure of a Śaiva temple in Canarese letter." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 314, No. 1585.

(126) *Kṣetra-gaṇita-śāstra.*—"On land-surveying." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 347.

(127) *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* by Malla Someśvara.—"Malayālam letter. On architecture." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 478. Same as *Mānasollāsa.*

(128) *Ratna-śāstra.*—"On characteristics and examination of stones." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 555.

(129) *Manavāla-Nārāyaṇa-śatakam.*—"st. 3— "*Vaiśiyar perumai*, the honour of merchants. The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come, offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan ; but if the honest come, and only ask a loan without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts, they must not allow of a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard seed. They will assist a (public) measure, even to the extent of a crore (of money). Such is the just rule of the mercantile class."

st. 4—"*Vellarher perumai*, the honour of agriculturists. The Vellarher by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) should maintain the prayers of Brāhmaṇas, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all—charity, donations, the enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the *Śāstras*, the *Vedas*, the *Purāṇas*, and all other books ; truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and manual skill ; all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the Vellarher's plough." *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 15, No. 2108.

(130) *Nāvā-śāstram.*—"On ship-building and navigation. But the work is chiefly astrological. Some directions are given respecting the materials and dimensions of vessels." *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 6, No. 2226. The same work is called *Kappal Śāstram* at p. 444 of the above catalogue.

(131) MS. No. 790, Sec. 30 (name not given) deals with miscellaneous arts, mechanics, building, etc.—"On the art of constructing forts, houses, fanes ; of settling a village ; navigation and variety of other similar things enumerated as taught in 36 works, the names of which are given (in the MS.)." *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 350.

(132) *Śilpa-nighaṇṭu* by Aghora Śāstrī.—"In Grantha character." *A classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Works in the Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāram Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Mysore*, Class XIX, No. 533.

(133) *Śilpa-śāstra-bhūśalya*—"In Grantha character." *Ibid.*, Class XIX, No. 534.

(134) *Devatā-śilpa.*—"With Telugu translation in Canarese character." *Ibid.*, Class XIX, 535.

(135) *Go-sūtra.*—Oxf. 398a. *Auf.* Pt. I, p. 169.

(136) *Go-śānti.*—Burnell, 149a. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 169.

(137) *Go-śānti.*—66th Pariśiṣṭa of the AV.—W. P. 94. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 169.

(138) *Govaidya-śāstra.*—Author not mentioned.—"Subject—*Vaidya.*" Oppert, Vol. I, p. 533. MS. No. 7298.

(139) *Go-śāstra.*—"Subject—Go-lakṣaṇa." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, MS. No. 6576.

(140) *Kalā-śāstra.*—"Name of a work by Viśākhila." Mentioned in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under the word 'Kalā.'

(141) *Citra-bhārata.*—Mentioned in Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, under the word 'citra.' It seems to be a work on painting.

(142) *Vāstu-śāstra*—(I) Rājavallabha maṇḍanam (see List II), (2) Rūpamaṇḍanam, (3) Prāsāda-maṇḍanam, (4) Devatā-mūrtti-prakaraṇam.—"On Śilpa." *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the A. S. B.*, p. 173, No. I G. 89.

(143) *Śilpa-śāstra.* A treatise in Tamil, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V (1876), pp. 230-237, 293-297.

LIST II

Printed works on Vārttā or its Sub-Topics.

(1) *Rājavallabhamaṇḍana* by Maṇḍana, son of Srī kṣetra.—"A metrical treatise on architecture in 14 *adhyāyas ;* edited with Gujrati translation and over 100 plates and diagrams by Nārāyaṇa Bhāratī Yasavanta Bhāratī (Baroda, 1891)." Stated to have been composed at Udaipur in Saṃvat 1480. *A Supplementary Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum* (acquired during the years 1892—1906) by Dr. L. D. Barnett, col. 376.

(2) *Viśvakarmaprakāśa.*—"A work on architecture attributed to the god Visvakarman. With a Hindi translation by Śaktidhara Śukula for Munsi Pālārām and hence conjointly with the text styled *Pālārām-vilāsa*, pp. iv, 304 (Lucknow, 1896). The preface states that the work, first communicated by Brahmā to Śiva, was thence transmitted successively to Garga, Parāśara, Bṛhadratha and Viśvakarman." *Ibid.*, col. 843.

(3) *Silpaśāstra-sāra-saṃgraha.*—"A manual of architecture by Kalyāṇa Śivanārāyaṇa of Surat. 12 plates. (Rājanagar, 1898). With a Gujarati translation by Kalyāṇadās Bhānābhāī Gujjar." *Ibid.*, col. 290.

(4) *Śilpa-dīpaka* by Gaṅgādhara.—"A metrical treatise on architecture in 5 prakaraṇas. *Ibid.*, col. 173.

(5) *Laghu-śilpa-śāstra-saṃgraha.* Veṅkaṭesvara Press, Bombay.

(6) *Viśvakarma-vidyā-prakāśa* with Ravidatta Śāstrin's Hindi Translation. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

(7) *Vāstava-candra-śṛṅgonnati* by Sudhākara Dvivedin. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

(8) *Yukti-kalpataru*, edited by Pandit Īśvaracandra Śāstrin with a Foreword by the present writer.

(9) *Kṛṣi-saṃgraha* by Parāśara.

(10) *Kṣetra-prakāśa*.

(11) *Upavanavinoda*, edited by Kavirāja Gaṇanāth Sen.

(12) *Mānasollāsa* by the Chalukya king Someśvara. A treatise on architecture and allied subjects. Portion edited in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

(13) *Maya-mata*, alias *Maya-śilpa*, or *Pratiṣṭhātantra.*—"A treatise on architecture founded on the canons of Maya, a Dānava, who is reputed to have built a palace of Yudhiṣṭhira.......It is remarkable in being less devoted to religious ceremonies and astrological disquisitions than the Mānasāra.

Contents :—I. Architecture defined. 2-3. Examination of the ground intended to be built upon. 4. Measurement of land. 5. Ascertainment of the points of the compass. 6. Fixing of pegs to demarcate the spots for building 7. Offerings to gods. 8. Measure of villages and the rules of laying them out. 9. Ditto for towns. 10. Directions for laying out squares, octagons, &c. 11. Laying the foundation and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion. 12. Plinth. 13. Base. 14. Pillars. 15. Stone-work. 16. Joining or cementation. 17. Spires or tops of houses. 18. One-storied houses. 19-20. Two-storied houses. 21. Three, four, &c.-storied houses. 22. Gopuras or gates. 23. Maṇḍapas. 24. Out-offices, barns, treasuries, &c. 25. Maṇḍapa-sabhās or open courts. 26. Linear measure,—of finger-breadths, &c." (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

(14) Manuṣyālayacandrikā (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

(15) Vāstuvidyā (T. S. S.).

(16) *Śilparatna* by Śrīkumāra, Part I (T. S. S.) "consisting of 46 chapters deals with the construction of houses, villages and other allied subjects while the second part treats of iconography and kindred topics".

(17) *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* by King Bhojadeva, Vol. I (Gaekwad Oriental Series,) "is a work on architecture...and deals with the planning of towns and villages, building of houses, halls and places as well as machines of various kinds".

LIST III*

Available Manuscripts on Polity or its Sub-topics

(1) *Sāravalī* by Rājā Kalyāṇa Varman. It was in the possession of the late Raja Satischandra of Krishnanagar, Navadvīpa. It is a treatise on astrological influence on wars, coronations and other human actions. R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (henceforth mentioned as Mitra's *Notices*), Vol. I, MS. No. cccxxxvii, p. 191.

(2) *Rājadharmakaustubha* by Anantadeva. Place of deposit as above. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 501, adds that it is a part of the *Smṛtikaustubha* written by request of Rājā Bāhādur Candra, by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, K. 192.

Contents: The jurisdiction of kings, their characteristics and defects; characteristics of queens, ministers, royal priests and astrologers; requirements of kings, rites to be performed by them; royal unction, duties to be observed for some days after coronation, &c.,&c. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, MS. No. cccxlvi, p. 196.

(3) *Koṭacakra*. It was in the possession of the late Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deva Bahadur, Calcutta. Ground plans of eight kinds of forts and their descriptions. This is apparently a fragment of one of the *Tantras*. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 534, p. 8.

(4) *Samarasāra* (with commentary) by Rāmacandra. Attached is a commentary in prose by Śivadāsa, son of Sūryadāsa Yati by Viśalākṣā. It has several

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* See p. 88

commentaries enumerated in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 697. Another name of the manuscript is *Svarodaya* (*Ibid.*). It is an essay in verse on supernatural means for success in warfare.

Contents : Calculations to be made from the names of the belligerents as to the potentiality of success (onomancy). The same from those of the day of the week, the age of the moon and of the *nakṣatra* when war is declared. Calculation from initial letters of names, accents &c. of do. Do. from the positions of armies on the different sides ; calculations from the directions of the wind (austromancy). Peculiar stellar conjunctions. Times improper for war. The snake diagram for calculating success in war. Calculations from the breath. Considerations about the left and right sides. Connexion with women. Success of embassy by the nature of the breath. Success by putting on particular drugs. Various diagrams for assaults, blockade, &c. Reduction of forts, &c. Ornithomancy. P.D. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II, MS. No. 799, p. 204.

(5) *Rājabhūṣaṇī* or *Nṛpabhūṣaṇī* by Rāmānanda Tīrtha. See *Auf.*, Pt. I, 521. In the possession of Kālidāsa Vidyāvāgīśa, Santipur. A treatise on polity.

Contents : The uses of kings, the importance of Governments ; punishment ; the attributes proper for ministers ; Do. of clerks ; Do. of priests ; Do. of Brāhmaṇas; Do. of kings ; Do. of ambassadors; royal robes ; rules of warfare, treaties, &c ; military expeditions ; diurnal duties of kings ; rules of Government ; punishment of priests who fail to perform their duties ; inauguration of kings. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, MS. No. 1207, p. 176.

(6) *Rajavāha-kaustubha.* The author's name is wanting. Compiled under the patronage and orders of King Rajavāha. In the possession of Hariścandra, Benares. A treatise on polity. A *Rāja-kaustubha* is noticed in *Bühler,* III, E. 281, where, too, the author's name is not given. A Telugu *Rājavāhana-vijaya* by Ādityasūryya Kavi is described in Taylor's *Catalogue*, II, p. 703. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. III, MS. No. 1222, p. 189.

(7) *Pañcakalpa-ṭīkā mūla-sahitā.* P. D., Calcutta, Government of India. A treatise on political duties as also on moral and other duties. Compiled in Kashmir during the reign and under the auspices of Raṇavīra Siṃha. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, MS. No. 1700, p. 272.

(8) *Mānasollāsa* by Bhūlokamalla Someśvara of the Chalukya Dynasty. In the possession of Pandit Nityānanda Miśra of Zila School, Bhagalpur. This is a different recension of the work noticed under No. 1215 (Vol. III, p. 182). It is deficient in the chapters on architecture and conforms more closely to the main object of supplying a miscellaneous collection of rules and instructions regarding duties of kings, selection of officers, characteristics of different orders, classes and professions ; duties (mostly smṛti rules), prohibitions, food, dress, ornament, arms, games, erotics, and a variety of other topics regarding which king should have a general knowledge. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. VI, MS. No. 2203, p. 265. Portion edited in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

(9) *Rājanīti*, anonymous. P. D. Calcutta, Raja

Rajendranarayana Deva Bahadur. A treatise on Government and the duties of kings compiled principally from the *Mahābhārata* and *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. VII, MS. No. 2473, p. 229.

(10) *Vīracintāmaṇi* alias *Dhanurveda-saṃgraha* by Śārṅgadhara. The colophon is so worded that the first name appears to be the name of a comprehensive work of which archery forms a part, but the introductory lines leave no room for doubt that the work is complete as it is, and that the two names are *aliases*. P. D. Ajimganj, Ramchandra Pandit. A treatise on archery and warfare.

Contents : Praise of archers ; style of holding the bow, rules for presenting the bows, measure of bows ; bow-strings, arrows, arrow-heads, tempering and sharpening arrow-heads, iron-shafts, tubes or guns, eight kinds of attitude, five kinds of bows, three kinds of aiming, five kinds of advance, four kinds of target, rules for gymnastic exercises, rules for piercing targets, quick aiming, shooting from great distances, rules of trajectory ; missing, computation of direct velocity, quadrangular motion, breaking of arrows, lasso, cutting of wood with arrow, shooting at globular objects, shooting at objects in motion, shooting at objects from their sound (without seeing them), repelling of the missiles of opponents, rules of warfare, division of armies into brigades, &c., marshalling of troops. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. IX, MS. No. 3084, p. 169.

(11) *Rāja-dharma-kaustubha* by Mahādeva. Contents : kings, their characteristics and defects, characteristics of queens, ministers, royal priests and astrologers ; requirements of kings, rites to be performed by

them; royal unction; duties to be observed for some days after coronation. *A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner* by R. L. Mitra, p. 444.

(12) *Rājyābhiṣeka-paddhati* by Viśveśvara *alias* Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, son of Dinakara of the family of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. This codex is a part of the *Dinakarodyota*, MS. No. 829, p. 386 of the *Catalogue.* Contents: Directions for the performance of the coronation ceremony. *Ibid.*, p. 445.

(13) *Kāmandakīya Nītiśāstra* or *Kāmantaka-nītiśāstra* with fragments of a commentary. "A work in verse on nīti or statecraft. The present MS. differs considerably from the printed editions (Madras, 1860 and Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1849-84), inasmuch as it consists of twenty-one consecutively numbered cantos, which are preceded by an introductory work in three sections." C. Bendall's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum*, 1902, p. 70, MS. No. 161.

(14) *Kalāvidhāna-paddhati* by Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa with a Singhalese interpretation. A manual of ceremonial and religious procedure on domestic and public occasions. The work appears to be fairly well-known in India and used to be regarded as a Hindu manual adopted and to some extent probably adapted by the Buddhists, specially by the astrologers of Ceylon. Some chapters relate to very varied topics of daily and ceremonial usage such as marriage, entering on lands, ploughing, sowing, buying and selling, new clothing, offerings to the Pretas, *coronation of kings*, use of elephants. A work of similar title and authorship occurs several times in Oppert's *Lists of MSS. in the*

Southern Presideney and another in Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 78. Sec. 6 relates to the distinctively Hindu ceremony of Upanayana (adapted, as it would seem, by Buddhists) bringing a boy to his teacher and the commencement of the study of the *Vedas* and all sciences. The commentator is a Buddhist. He explains the expression "vedārambha" by "vedaśāstra-paṭangenmehi" an expression which would not necessarily convey to a Buddhist reader the *Vedas* properly so-called but would cover sciences like Āyurveda, Dhanurveda". C. Bendall's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum*, 1902, p. 77, MS. No. 201.

(15) *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha* with Newari version. On the text in its several recensions see E. Monseur, *Cāṇakya* (Paris, 1887), The present MS. corresponds to the fourth of the recensions there noticed and therefore also to the Berlin MSS. now nos. 1591, 1592 in Weber's *Cata.* (Bd. II) described by J. Klatt. Our text is however somewhat more correct than these as regards errors in orthography and the like. The vernacular version of the present MS. affords a good specimen of the extensive borrowings mostly in the Tatsama form of Newari noticed by Dr. Conrady in his account of the language. C. Bendall's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum*, 1902, p. 94, MS. No. 245.

(16) *Rāja-koṣa-nighaṇṭu* by Raghunātha Paṇḍita, son of Nārāyaṇa and minister of Śivarāja (the great Mahratta prince 1664-1680) by whose order it was composed. A list of synonyms of 'king' in Sanskrit, Mahratta, Telugu and Hindusthani, and of names for things belonging to or referring to

kings, &c. *Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace of Tanjore prepared for the Madras Government* by A. C. Burnell, Ph. D., 1880, p. 48.

(17) *Kāmandakīya-nītisāra-vyākhyāna*, a commentary on the treatise on polity of Kāmandaki, by Varadarāja-bhaṭṭāraka. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(18) *Daṇḍanīti-prakaraṇa* from the *Nītimañjarī* of Śrīśambhurāja. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(19) *Prapañcāmṛtasāra* by Ekarāja of Tanjore (reigned 1676-1684). Fragments of an intended encyclopaedia something like the *Mānasollāsa* (see supra). Some chapters on nīti seem alone to have been finished. Some of the fragments relate to pūjā etc. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(20) *Rāja-dharma-sāra-saṃgraha* in 22 chapters by Tulājirāja of Tanjore (1765-1718). *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(21) *Rāja-nīti* by Vararuci. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(22) *Rājanīti* by Hari Sena, Benares ; deposited with Divākara Gaṇaka, Benares ; in Devanāgarī character, procurable for copying ; recent and incorrect. It gives law for kings and their duties. *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in private Libraries of the N. W. Provinces compiled by order of Government N.W.P.*, 1874, Part I, p. 122, MS. No. 155.

(23) *Nīti-prakāśa* by Kulamaṇi, in Devanāgarī character ; deposited with Kedārnāth of Benares. The MS. is procurable ; apparently correct and old. It gives an account of the kingdom and governors, the proper men to appoint, and proper times for them to be appointed. *Ibid.*, p. 136, MS. No. 197.

(24) *Rāja kaustubha*, author not mentioned ; deposited with Kṛṣṇarāva Bhīmāśaṅkara Vadodarā. *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarat*, No. 3 (by order of Government), 1872, MS. No. 281, p. 116.

(25) *Rāja-nīti* by Devīdāsa; deposited with Caturbhuja Bhaṭṭa, Navanagara. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 282, p. 116.

(26) *Yavana-pāripāṭya-rājarīti.* It is a work composed by one Dalapati-rāya for a prince named Mādhava Siṃha who is styled Sārvabhauma or paramount sovereign. It contains forms of letters and orders from a king to his subordinates written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among Muhammadans and also Sanskrit equivalents of Muhammadan political terms. From the colophon, Mādhava Siṃha the Sārvabhauma appears to have been Savāi Mādhavarāv or Mādhavrāv II of the Peshwa Dynasty of Poona. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83. Ibid.*, MS. No. 409, p. 86.

(27) *Vṛhaccāṇakya-nīti* (MS. 681, p. 162) and *Cāṇakya* (MS. 996, p. 238). *List of Sanskrit, Jain and Hindi MSS. purchased by order of Government and deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897-1901.*

(28) *Cāṇakya-sūtra* by Cāṇakya; in the Library of Raja of Cochin at Tiruppunittura. On Nītiśāstra. Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in private Libraries in S. India*, Vol. I, Madras, 1880, MS. No. 2826, p. 255.

(29) *Dūtalakṣaṇa*; author not mentioned; in the possession of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore. On Nītiśāstra. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 5996, p. 470.

(30) *Nītiśāstra*; author not mentioned; P. D. as above. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 6023, p. 471.

(31) *Rāja-dharma-lakṣaṇa*; author not mentioned; P. D. as above On nītiśāstra. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 6169, p. 478.

(32) *Sandhi-vigraha-yāna-dvaidhībhāva-samāśrayagrantha* ; author not mentioned ; in the possession of Raja of Vijayanagra. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 7438, p. 540.

(33) *Dūtavākyaprabandha* ; author not mentioned ; in the possession of Maharaja of Travancore. On Nītisāstra. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 5997, p. 470.

(34) *Prajāpaddhati* ; author not mentioned ; in the possession of Piccu Dīkṣitar of Akhilāṇḍapuram. On Nītisāstra. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 5231, p. 319.

(35) *Śatru-mitropaśānti* : no author mentioned ; P. D. as above. On Nītiśāstra. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 5270, p. 321.

(36) *Cāṇakya-śloka* ; in Maithila character. H. P. Śāstrī's *Catalogue of the Palmleaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, MS. No. 1475, ga, p. 63. [See preface to the Catalogue xliii-xliv.]

(37) *Hitopadeśa*. The first manuscript is a fragment in Newari and the second was copied in the reign of Yakṣamalla in the year 594 of the Nepal era, i. e. 1474 A. D. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 1583 kha, p. 72, and MS. No. 1608 ña, p. 75. [See also preface as above.]

(38) *Ekādaśādyadhikaraṇa* by Murāri Miśra. Unique. The manuscript was copied by Harikara, son of Srī Ratnākara. It deals with domestic and foreign affairs as a sequel to the author's work on *Bādhābhyuccaya-lakṣaṇa*, i. e., on the political obstacles. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 1076 ka, p. 30.

(39) *Kuśopadeśa-ṭīkā* by Bāndhava Sena. In Newari character. Copied in N. S. 644 = 1524 A. D. The small poem in 8 verses known as *Kuśopadeśa* or *Guṇāṣṭaka* is said to have been composed by Aṅgada-kumāra, and the commentary is by a Buddhist, Virācāryya Bāndhava Sena belonging to

the Mahāvihāra to the east of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. It was composed under a tree within the compound of the Mahāvihāra. On politics. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 1647 ca, p. 85 and Preface xliv.

(40) *Rājavidhānasāra.* A work on politics in two parts by Raṅganātha Sūri, the son of Paṇḍitarāja Brajanātha for the benefit of Mahārājādhirāja Yuddhagīrvāṇa Sāhi of the Gorkha dynasty of Nepal (1799-1816) at Kāntipura, which is another name of Kathmandu. The first part treats of the court (sāṅgopāṅga) and the second part the duties of the king. Unique. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 232, p. 244.

(41) *Tantrākhyānakathā*, copied in N. S. 725 perhaps by a Buddhist scribe. An abstract of the *Pañcatantra* with a Newari translation. *Ibid.*, MS. No. 1534 ja, p. 64. and MS. No. 1584 ka p. 74.

The following manuscripts with their descriptions are mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* :

(42) *Agni-Purāṇa, Rājanīti.* Burnell 187 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 2).

(43) *Koṭayuddhanirṇaya.* K. 224 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 130).

(44) *Kauṭilīya Nītisāra.* Oppert, II, MS. No. 6246. Its commentary MS. No. 6247. He is quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amarakoṣa*, by Mallinātha, Hemacandra, Oxf. (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 130).

(45) *Cāṇakya-nīti* or *Cāṇakya-rājanīti* or *Cāṇakya-śataka. Auf.* Pt. 1, p. 184 (also called *Rājanīti-śāstra* in p. 501).

(46) *Laghucāṇakyarājanīti.* Oppert 7390 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(47) *Vṛddhacāṇakya.* Oxf. 131 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1. p. 184).

(48) *Cāṇakyavākyasāra.* Bhk. 26 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(49) *Cāṇakyasaṃgraha.* Oudh. 1877, 64. W. 1591, 1592 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(50) *Nītisāra*, attributed to Ghaṭakarpara. *Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 299.

(51) *Nītiśāstrasamucacaya.* Peters. 3, 395 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 299).

(52) *Nītisamuccaya.* Oppert 6024 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 299).

(53) *Nītisārasaṃgraha* by Madhusūdana. Rādh., 21 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 299).

(54) *Nītisāra.* Rādh., 21 ; Oppert 72, 2359, 6364. II, 3377 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 299).

(55) *Tripuradāha* a ḍima (i. e., exhibition of a *siege*). Quoted in *Sāhityadarpaṇa. Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 237.

(56) *Dūtayogalakṣaṇa.* On Nīti. Oppert, II, 3414 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 257).

(57) *Dhanurvidyā-dīpikā*, quoted by Kamalākara. Oxf. 278 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(58) *Dhanurvidyārambhaprayoga.* Burnell 151 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(59) *Dhanurveda*, on archery, by Śārṅgadatta. Report XXXVI (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(60) *Dhanurveda*, quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amarkoṣa*, by Hemcandra. Oxf. 185 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(61) *Dhanurveda-cintāmaṇi* by Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa. K. 230 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(62) *Dhanurvedaprakaraṇa* from *Agnipurāṇa*, Burnell 187 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 275).

(63) *Dhanurvedasāra.* Oppert, II, 5512 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 267).

(64) *Yuddhakutūhala* by Duḥkhabhañjana. On military tactics. Oudh, vii, 36 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, pp. 255, 476).

(65) *Yuddhakauśala* by Rudra. B. 4, 182. Peters. 2, 194 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(66) *Yuddhacintāmaṇi* by Rāmasevaka Tripāṭhin with commentary. Oudh, vii, 36 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(67) *Yuddhajayaprakāśa* by Duḥkhabhañjana. Oudh, vii, 36 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(68) *Yuddhajayārṇava.* B. 4, 182. Quoted by Narapati, Cambr. p. 69 ; by Raghunandana in Jyotistattva (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(69) *Yuddhajayārṇava* from *Agnipurāṇa.* Burnell 187 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(70) *Yuddhajayotsava*, with its many commentaries. Pheh. 10 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(71) *Yuddhaparipāṭī.* Pheh. 10 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(72) *Yuddharatneśvara.* Oudh, vii, 8 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(73) *Yuddharatnāvalī.* NP. ix, 50 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 476).

(74) *Yuddhavionda.* Pheh. 10 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 472).

(75) *Rājadharma-prakaraṇa.* P. 11 ; Poona 384 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(76) *Rājanīti* by Bhoja. L. 576 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(77) *Rājanītiprakāśa* by Rāmacandra. Allaḍīvāra. K 78 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(78) *Lekhakamuktāmaṇi*, on letter-writing and knowledge required for a *royal scribe*, by Haridāsa. Oxf. 341b (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 546).

(79) *Śivadhanurveda*, quoted by Śārṅgadhara at the end of the eighteenth chapter of his *Paddhati* (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 649).

(80) *Ṣoḍaśapakṣī*, on royal requirements. Oudh, v, 30 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 680).

(81) *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, the eleventh part of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara. Peters. I, 110 ; IO, 852 (*Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(82) *Dhanurvidyā*, BL. 337 (3 leaves) (*Auf.*, Pt. 2, p. 57).

(83) *Paṭṭābhiṣeka-vidhi.* On the ceremonies to be used at a coronation. Gov. Or. Lib., Madras, 47 (*Auf.*, Pt, 2, p. 70).

(84) *Dhanurveda.* Peters. 5,113 (inc.). (*Auf.*, Pt. 3, p. 58).

(85) *Dhanurveda*, attributed to Sadāśiva. Rep., p.9. *Ibid.*

(86) *Dhanurveda-prakaraṇa*, attributed to Vikramāditya. Rep. p. 9 (*Auf.*, Pt. 3, p. 58); H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, p. 191.

(87) *Nītigarbhita-śāstra* or *Nṛpatinīti-garbhita-vṛtta* by Lakṣmīpati. On Nītiśāstra. *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 94.

(88) *Vīramitrodaya*, a commentary on the Rājadharma chapter of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, by Mitra Miśra. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

(89) *Kodaṇḍa-maṇḍana.* On Astra-śāstra. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

(90) *Purap 'Porul.* A Tamil work on war. *JRAS.*, XIX (new series), p, 574.

(91) *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa.* The book consists of 21 Parivartas. Its 13th chapter treats of Rājaśāstra. C. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883), Add. 875, p. 13.

(92) *Khaḍga-pūjāvidhi.* A short treatise on the use of arms &c. Tantric or Sivaic. *Ibid.*, Add. 1706, p. 109.

(93) *Narapati-vijaya* by Padmākaradeva. On proper seasons for royal acts. Telugu character. H. H. Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* (1828), p. 168, No. 46.

(94) *Rāja-nīti* by Jagannātha, son of Ayala Mantri, a Brāhmaṇa of Kimur in the Guntur District. Telugu book in Palm leaves. *Ibid.*, p. 291, No. 50.

(95) *Kumandaki-nītisāra-ṭīkā* by Chockupādyāyya

Mantri. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental MSS. in the Library of the late College of Fort St. George*, Madras (1857), Vol., I, p. 14. No. 2237.

(96) *Popular and Kingly Ethics*, containing Dharmakāṇḍa or description of justice and Arthakāṇḍa or qualities of a king, mantrin, senāpati, &c. Canarese character. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 337, No. 1610

(97) *Rājanīti*. Grantha character. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 432. No. 1655.

(98) *Sabhāpati-lakṣaṇam* by Bommana Poturāja. On the duties of a king. Telugu language and character. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 491, No. 1264.

(99) *Rāja-nīti*. Canarese language and character. Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531, No. 1476, sec. 2.

(100) (No name mentioned). Various matters—chiefly in Sanskrit ślokas in Canarese character—Akṣauhiṇī (legion) ; Brāhmīlakṣaṇa (description of a fortified camp) ; Mahārathādirathalakṣaṇa (the property of the chariot) ; Pañcadhara (horses' paces in war) ; Śaktitraya-lakṣaṇa (three modes of power or military forces, their qualities) ; Rājakāryanīti (how a king ought to act in dealing with a hostile force) ; Pañcama-lakṣaṇa (five kinds of warlike arms, ratha, gaja, &c.). So far kingly matters. Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 565, No. 1462.

(101) *Manavāla-nārāyaṇa-śataka*. "Relates the appendages of a court and metropolis and other matters pertaining to ordinary life.

St. 2.—*Rāja muraimāi*, the economies of kings. The Rājā must understand four things (sic) ; that is to say, the law of Manu, to (?) listen to the advice of the Mantrin (counselling minister), he must be himself intelligent, of good natural capacity, and must know the nature of his kingdom. He must be patient as regards the ear, the eye, and the mind. Being thus qualified, he must sway the sceptre ; ... he must observe the proper times for managing affairs. He must know the proper place wherein to conquer his enemies. He must have valiant troops, wealth, provisions ; he must make large grants and charitable gifts.

St. 3—*Mantri mutalānavarkal muraimāi*, the duties of the king's ministers. The proper office of the mantrin is to acquaint, and advise the king concerning the nature of becoming proceedings, and concerning such as ought to be rejected. The Dalakarten is, according to time and his own strength, to conquer the enemies of the state. The Prathāni manages carefully the treasure, the internal administration of the kingdom, with all connected matters. The Rayasen (or Secretary) must be able to read fluently, must have good memory as to what is said to him, and must be able to write down instruction without error, or omission. The Karnen (or Accountant) must have his account true as the sun ; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the west, at least his account must not vary. The Tānāpati (or ambassador) must be skilful in speech, in the decorum of princely assemblies, and the excellences or peculiarities of other kings." Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 15. No. 2108.

(102) *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* by Śārṅgadhara. Treating *inter alia* of Rājanīti. In Telugu character. It contains "kingly morals and some rules for people how (sic) to obey" Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 47, No. 653.

(103) *Yuddhajayotsava*. On military tactics. *List of*

Sanskrit MSS. discovered in Oudh during 1879 p. 116.

(104) *Khaḍga-lakṣaṇa.* On Śastra-lakṣaṇa. Oppert, Vol. I, p. 467, MS. No. 5976.

(105) *Churikā-lakṣaṇa.* P. D. Maharaja of Travancore. On Śastra-lakṣaṇa. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 469, MS. No. 5976.

(106) *Dhanurveda.* H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, p. 190, No. 537.

(107) *Saṃgrāma-vidhi.* On the art of war. It gives a definition of Akṣauhiṇī and treats of the disposition of the army in war. But it treats of destruction more with mantras than with weapons. *Ibid.*, p. 264, No. (2) 112.

LIST IV

Printed Works on Polity or its Sub-topics

(1) *Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭilya (Text and Commentaries).

(2) *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (Text and Commentaries).

(3) *Śukra-nītisāra.* Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

(4) *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* by the Chalukya King Bhūlokamalla Someśvara, Vol. I. Gaekwad Oriental Series.

(5) *Nītivākyāmṛta* by Somadeva Sūri. Māṇikcānd Digambar Jaina Granthamālā, Girgaon, Bombay.

(6) *Arhannīti* by Hemacandra. Jainoday Press, Ahmedabad.

(7) *Nītimayūkha* by Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. Guzarati Printing Press, Bombay.

(8) *Yuktikalpataru* by Bhojadeva. A portion deals with polity. Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta.

(9) *Rājanītiratnākara* by Caṇḍeśvara. Behar & Orissa Research Society, Patna.

(10) *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa* (part of the *Vīramitrodaya*) by Mitra Miśra. The auspicious and inauspicious signs of kings, elephants, chariots, horses, houses, etc. are dealt with here. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

(11) *Bārhaspatya-sūtra.* Panjab Sanskrit Series, Lahore.

(12) *Nītiprakāśikā*, edited by Gustav Oppert, "gives most valuable information about the Dhanurveda, and contains also a very interesting description of the constitution of the Indian army."

(13) *Rājanītiprakāśa* (part of the *Vīramitrodaya*) by Mitra Miśra. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

(14) *Dhanurvedasaṃhitā* by Vasiṣṭha. Maharaja Kumud Chandra Memorial Series, Calcutta.

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CORRECTION SLIP

Page 8, l. 10 read antelope
,, 14, l. 27 ,, *vatse*
,, 21, l. 18 ,, a few
,, 26, l. 10 ,, *pañcāgni*
,, 103, l. 14 ,, ritualism
,, 131, l. 11 ,, facility
,, 148, l. 17 ,, *Kāmasūtra*
,, 163, l. 8 ,, *Paṭṭhāna*
,, 164, l. 18 ,, happened
,, 183, l. 10 ,, Hīnayāna

Page 191, l. 12 read there
,, 285, fn. 4 ,, Lancaster's
,, 287, margin,, Bengali
,, 301, fn. Joannes
,, 322, l. 3 ,, spiritual
,, 337, l. 20 ,, Kṛṣṇa
,, 355, l. 10 ,, bases in
,, 374, l. 16 ,, *sūtra*
,, 381, l. 25 ,, sacrificial

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